Current HISTORY

ıly, 1936 Price 25 Cents

EXFORD GUY TUGWELL—"down to earth"

COUNT CARLO SFORZA—"fear across the borders"

JOSEPH H. BAIRD—"small business in the soviet"

4 CANADIAN articles—"neighbors to the north"

Other Articles—Cartoons

"Log of Major Currents"

Marginal History—Chronology

BLISHED BY CURRENT HISTORY, INCORPORATED



HOW YOU PROFIT FROM THIS DISCOVERY

For tens of thousands of miles, in millions of automobiles, the metal pipes that carry gas and oil withstand the vibration of high speeds and the jolts of rough roads. They are stronger, they last longer, because of electric-furnace brazing. Sealed in millions of electric refrigerators, vital parts made by this process keep the mechanism operating quietly, efficiently, year after year. The greater strength that comes from brazing means more dependable service for you, and fewer repair bills.

All-metal tubes in your new radio, sewing machines that make your clothing, calculating machines that serve in your bank and office — to all these, electric-furnace brazing has brought simpler, stronger, less costly construction.

Electric-furnace brazing — a process that causes copper to penetrate deep into pieces of harder metal, joining them into a solid whole — was developed in the General Electric Research Laboratory, in Schenectady, N. Y. And when G-E research gave industry this improved manufacturing method, it was saving industry — and you — millions of dollars in the cost and maintenance of manufactured products.

G-E research has saved the public from ten to one hundred dollars for every dollar it has earned for General Electric

GENERAL ELECTRIC

Current HISTORY

For July

M. E TRACY
Publisher

LEONARD M. LEONARD
Assistant to the Publisher

JOHN C. CASMAN
General Manager

SPECIAL ARTICLES

REGULAR FEATURES

Current History Volume XLIV No 4 July 1936 Published Monthly by Current History, Inc at 63 Park Row, New York N Y 25c a copy $3 a year Canada $3 75, Foreign, $4 25, two years in U S, $5 Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new addresses Entered as second class matter September 28 1935 at the postoffice at New York, N Y under the Act of March 3, 1879 Entered in Canada as second class matter

THE WORLD IN BOOKS

THE Cleveland confusion is over and the Republicans have poured their blessings all over Alf M. Landon. They have pushed him out into the middle of the stage to say his piece in the hope that the people will think enough of it to ask for more, come November.

Mr. Landon's promotion and stage managers believe the Kansas Governor's act will be helped, or even put over, by the party platform. They assure themselves that the Democrats, now going through the motions of nominating and getting enthusiastic about Mr. Roosevelt, cannot match their own stated aims.

But candidates and platforms of both parties would seem to be neglecting an issue of domestic and international importance, according to Dr. James T. Shotwell's *On the Rim of the Abyss* (Macmillan, $3.00). Dr. Shotwell, who as long ago as 1919 was clamoring for United States participation in the League of Nations as an "associate member" believes that this country should lose no time in clarifying its relations with the League to the end that definite cooperation will be made possible.

If Americans want peace, he contends, they must be ready to admit that peace is only possible when peace is universal. "There is no other way to secure permanent peace than by maintaining an international organ of cooperative pacification," says Dr. Shotwell, adding that the League's failures should not blind the people of the United States to its utter desirability and necessity.

For the League's record is not as much stumble, fumble, and fail as is generally reported, twenty-three times during the first fifteen years of its existence the League provided grounds other than the battlefield for settlement of disputes among nations. True, the League could not prevent Il Duce from baking his little blackberry pie in Ethiopia, nor has it yet been able effectively to restrain Japan from swaggering off with other people's territory. But the fault is in the poor cooperation accorded the League, rather than in its objectives and organization.

The United States, for instance, provided a classic example of working at cross-purposes with the League in the Manchurian incident of 1932. When the League appealed to the Governments of China and Japan to "refrain from any action which might aggravate the situation or prejudice the peaceful settlement of the problem," Washington indorsed the League's action. Yet two days later (September 23) the Administration let it be known that it was opposed to a move under consideration by the Council to appoint a commission of inquiry to report on conditions in Manchuria.

This diplomatic blunder checked at the very outset the only direct action the League could have taken at the time—an action which, as Dr. Shotwell points out, already had proved effective in choking off threat of conflict in the dispute between Greece and Bulgaria. The net result of the incident was that the United States had dealt Japan four aces and the Council adjourned on September 30 for two weeks without taking any positive action.

But the "final question," in Dr. Shotwell's opinion, is "not what the League has or has not done, but what it will have to do in the future and how it can be put in a position to fulfill its mission."

Cooperation with the United States, then, would help the League achieve this "mission." Dr. Shotwell agrees that the States could not join the League under the present membership provisos, but we could make application for membership of an "associate" or qualified nature, somewhat similar to this country's participation in the International Labor Organization.

"This is not only a duty to others; it is a protection to ourselves as well, for otherwise the outer rim will not be safe," he maintains. "But far more important than these policies of safety are those of peaceful cooperation in building up the alternatives to war, through both the practice of justice and the erection of those institutions which become a fitting expression of a real community of nations."

It is unfortunate that there is no legislation covering the reading habits of Congressmen, for the only regrettable aspect of Dr. Shotwell's work is that it is not required reading for Senators and Representatives, many of whom have strange ideas about the League of Nations and religiously avoid all conversation, and even thought, on the subject.

Two books which provide good supplemen-

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued from page 2)
tary reading to *On the Rim of the Abyss* are *A Place in the Sun* (Macmillan, $2.50) and *The Balance Sheets of Imperialism* (Columbia University Press, $2.75), both by Grover Clark. The books cover much the same ground, make the same point, and are companion, though not mutually dependent, volumes. *A Place in the Sun* presents the story of imperialism in a popular, well-written fashion, based largely upon the statistical tables, charts, and technical information contained in *The Balance Sheets of Imperialism*.

Do Colonies Pay?

Mr. Clark's studies, made possible in a large measure by grants from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, have convinced him that nations seeking a place in the sun have found the resultant sunburn both painful and unprofitable. And when the final accounting of colonial expansion is made, the figures invariably are written in red ink.

Italy, for example, has settled less than 1,000 families in Eritrea since Ethiopia's neighbor underwent a "civilization" operation by Italy in 1883. And in 1931, there were twice as many Italians on the island of Manhattan, New York City, than there were Europeans of all nationalities in all the Italian colonies.

Again, Japan, whose *raison d'etre* in nailing Manchuria to the colonial mast was heavy surplus population, failed to send more than 1,000 settlers to her newly acquired territory. Likewise, Japan's population increased 8,000,000 between 1925 and 1933, yet the Land of the Rising Sun had a total net emigration to all her colonies of less than 294,000.

Further disposing of the argument that colonies are needed to absorb excesses of domestic population, Mr. Clark estimates that out of a total of nineteen million persons emigrating from Europe during the last fifty years, approximately sixteen and a half million settled in the Americas, while the small remaining number went to all the rest of the world. And the total migrating to European territories or colonies has been a mere half million.

Yet there are other arguments advanced by imperialistic die-hards: The possession of colonies gives the conquering nation important opportunities for profitable trade otherwise not available; second, a nation operated on a chain-store system can find the links extremely valuable, especially so during time of war, because of the advantage of raw materials. But here, too, Mr. Clark has sharpened his pencil and proved exactly what he set out to prove.

As Exhibit A again, let us consider Italy. During the period 1894-1932, Italy's total volume of trade with her colonies, exports and imports included, amounted to 5,561,000,000 lire. Yet during 1913-1932 alone, Italy spent 6,856,000,000 lire over her various colonies in expenses, upkeep, and overhead, or 1,300,000,000 lire more in twenty years than the value of all colonial trade in forty years. And this losing figure is unbelievably increased by the ten billion or more lire sprayed on Ethiopia during Il Duce's latest Roman holiday.

Germany, too, has been troubled with the financial hangovers of colonial expansion. In the last twenty years of Germany's colonies—1894-1913—her trade with all of them, including Kiaochao, amounted to 1,002,000 marks. Furthermore, while Germany's share of the world trade increased between 1894-1903 and between 1904-1913, her slice of the trade of even her own colonies fell off from 35.2 to 26.6 percent.

Germany's war experiences would also seem to indicate that access to raw materials anywhere, whether in colonies or foreign countries, depends on the ability to keep communications open in the region of the supplies.

Rulers Have Own Ideas

Mr. Clark's books are sufficiently convincing; that is, convincing to all except colonizing nations, the rulers of which will continue to strive toward the end that their places in the sun will become larger and larger, the ultimate ideal being that each would have not only all the sun, but all the places. It might also appear, then, that Mr. Clark has not placed enough importance on the matter of international and domestic prestige usually sought by imperialistic-minded powers. One of Italy's main reasons in staging her little party in Ethiopia was based on a growing lack of confidence by the people in Fascism. There were more people than there were jobs or plates at the dinner table, and Il Duce's chief concern was to keep face with the people. And more important than the economic shot-in-the-arm resulting from the Ethiopian serum was the resurgence of faith by the Italian people, who have shown they can feast on pride, if not on bread and meat.

❖ ❖ ❖

Coming back to the American presidential campaign, one might suggest that Nominee Landon delay building his intended golden bridges until he has had a chance to read *The Downfall of the Gold Standard* by Gustav Cassel (Oxford University Press, $2.25). Dr. Cassel, widely-recognized Swedish economist, sounds taps for any hope of an international gold-standard system. American experience conclusively proves, he contends, the "futility of the orthodox doctrine that gold reserves would guarantee the maintenance of the gold standard."

The United States, Dr. Cassel points out, was not compelled by the same forces to abandon

the gold standard as other countries, which jumped off the gold rostrum because of deficits in their international balance of payments and insufficient gold funds. For a decade the balance of payment had been in favor of the United States, creating the opportunity for the flight of capital. The capital movements, in fact, were held responsible for the losses of gold that had occurred, even though it appeared during the first quarter of 1933 that the current account was practically balanced.

This nation had 4,084 millions of dollars in gold reserves in January, 1933—more than a third of the world's total supply—yet found such a reserve insufficient for maintenance of the gold standard.

The future of gold, then, at least from an economic angle, would appear to be very much in doubt. Nations can no longer hope that quantity of reserves alone will guarantee the existence of a gold standard; in fact there is little basis for any hope of an international system based on the yellow metal.

Lord Palmerston

It has remained for an American to give the English their most comprehensive, and perhaps best, biography of Lord Palmerston. H. C. F. Bell, professor of history at Wesleyan University, has filled a gap in English historical biography that was only partially bridged by Guedalla's single volume, *Life of Lord Palmerston*, ten years ago. For Mr. Bell's *Lord Palmerston* (Longmans, Green & Co., two volumes, $12.50) is an incredibly-detailed study of the long-lived Henry John Temple Palmerston, one

of England's outstanding statesmen during the nineteenth century.

Palmerston's years were many and his experiences rich; he was born before the American Constitution and lived to see the United States in Civil War, and during his span of eighty-one years he spent all but a few, after reaching maturity, in public office. At twenty-five he was secretary of war under Pitt; at fifty he was secretary of foreign affairs; at seventy-one he became Prime Minister, a post which he held, except for one year, until his death in 1865.

An individual of exceptional vigor and personal charm, Palmerston laughed his way into the hearts of the people; no minister "had ever in times of peace given them sensations more pleasurable," says Mr. Bell. He goes on: "What a glow of satisfaction came in feeling that, through him, England flouted and preached to the haughtiest and most powerful monarchs of the continent."

Palmerston was one of the first to realize the value of a friendly press. He contributed to certain newspapers and always had time to see editors. One or two journals were on Palmerston's favored list and received confidential information and even special articles. And the press like him none the less for his humor. On one occasion Palmerston wrote the Queen, suggesting that the Duke of Succa, as a sovereign prince, should be invited to dine with her by note and not by card, "Your Majesty may think this a small matter," he wrote the Queen, "but the Duke is a small sovereign."

The London *Times*, which seldom took Palmerston seriously during the early part of his career, gave him the sobriquet of "Cupid," ostensibly because of Palmerston's *sang-froid* when confronted with accusations that his acquaintances included a number of ladies of "varying degrees of fair fame." Another nickname was "Lord Pumicestone," less used but more significant, for it indicated a certain roughness, or arrogance, particularly evident in his dealings with envoys of other countries at the British Court.

Visiting statesmen who opposed Palmerston might often provoke him to intone with Metternich:

Hat der Teufel einen Sohn
So ist er sicher Palmerston.

"Meddlesomeness, obstinacy, touches of bombast and hauteur, the tendency to create enemies, all were there," writes Mr. Bell. "But with these went evidences of sincerity, of clear and moderate aims, of firmness of purpose, and of the generous if narrow patriotism of him who longs that other countries may enjoy the same constitutional blessings as his own."

Mr. Bell set out to show what Palmerston thought and wished to do, rather than to chronicle only what he did. But the author has succeeded beyond that; he has contributed a remarkable study of English life and history over a period of more than half a century. Americans have not had such an occasion for native pride in many years; Mr. Bell's work not only records, but makes history.

Ireland's Parnell

Palmerston had been removed by death only ten years from the English political scene when a new voice was heard in Parliament. It was that of Charles Stewart Parnell, "uncrowned King of Ireland," whose fight for Home Rule dominated English affairs for more than a decade.

The tragedy of Parnell is well known; the Irish leader's life was hardly one to escape the pens of biographers and historians. Yet Margaret Leamy's *Parnell's Faithful Few* (Macmillan, $2.50) is a not unimportant contribution to our knowledge of a man whose devotion to his country in the face of most severe difficulties was unwavering and whose name to this day will cause a peculiar quiet in even the most talkative of Irishmen.

The fight for Home Rule in Ireland had cost Parnell his life; there was much in his downfall and death to suggest a second Calvary—the Irish people had dethroned their "King" in a moment of haste because of pressure and propaganda exerted against him by politicians who saw a chance to capitalize on events in Parnell's personal life. For it was not enough that Parnell had to struggle, organize, and direct the "cause", the people were led into demanding that his private life measure up to accepted standards. And Parnell's liaison with Mrs. Kitty O'Shea fell short of those standards. The moral issue was allowed to supersede the more important and greater one—Home Rule for Ireland. The burden of fighting not only for the honor of Ireland but for his own honor as well was too severe a drain upon his health and Parnell died in October 1891.

Miss Leamy has given more than a stirring account of Charles Stewart Parnell; she has presented interesting short studies of the "faithful few" who stood by Parnell even when the flood-gates of moral fever broke loose. The book commends itself to those who enjoy a more varied human equation, as well as to students of Irish history.

Literary Horizon

Literary honors were shared last month by Robert Frost's *A Further Range* (Henry Holt, $2.50); *Stories of Three Decades*, by Thomas Mann (Alfred A. Knopf, $3.00), and *Days of Wrath*, by André Malraux (Random House, $1.75).

A Further Range may disappoint those critics who demand that poetry be completely satu-

rated with social consciousness and that it strike out sharply against the world's ocean of economic injustices. This does not imply that Frost has entirely neglected the problems of the times; indeed, he has tried to keep faith with his many young followers who are critical of a world which has little reason and even less room. But Frost has not allowed his poetry to break away too far from the timeless quality of the soil and of nature which characterized his earlier poems. Weighing the place of poetry in "revolutionary bad times," Frost writes:

The question is whether they've reached
a depth
Of desperation that would warrant poetry's
Leaving love's alternations, joy, and grief,
The weather's alternations, Summer and
Winter,
Our age-long theme, for the uncertainty
Of Judging who is a contemporary liar
Who in particular, when all alike
Get called as much in clashes of ambition.

A Further Range deserves and will receive a large circulation; it will undoubtedly please the author's many admirers, though not as thoroughly, perhaps, as his *North of Boston,* or *Mountain Interval.*

Herr Mann and M. Malraux

Stories of Three Decades is all the more appealing because it has escaped publication in such a form for so long a time. Comprising Thomas Mann's shorter fiction written over a period of thirty-three years, *Stories of Three Decades* presents the phenomenon of works which have eluded English translation, even though written by one of the greatest of living authors. For there are half a dozen of Thomas Mann's *Stories in the Omnibus* which are making their English appearance for the first time.

This would seem to emphasize our lack of familiarity with most post-war German literature. It would hardly be expected, of course, that a country which destroys good books can produce them, yet there is much of merit in German literature written before Hitler which has remained unknown to Americans. Mann, himself, must have been disappointed in our failure to be more receptive to such of his works as *Joseph, The Magic Mountain,* or even *Buddenbrooks.*

Days of Wrath is not as easily digestible, perhaps, as some of Malraux's earlier works, such as *Man's Fate* or *The Royal Way.* It is weighted down with possible hidden meanings and the reader may either come away with the impression that Malraux has again contributed a novel of unusual social significance, deep and rich in character, or feel that the story lacks body, and therefore importance.

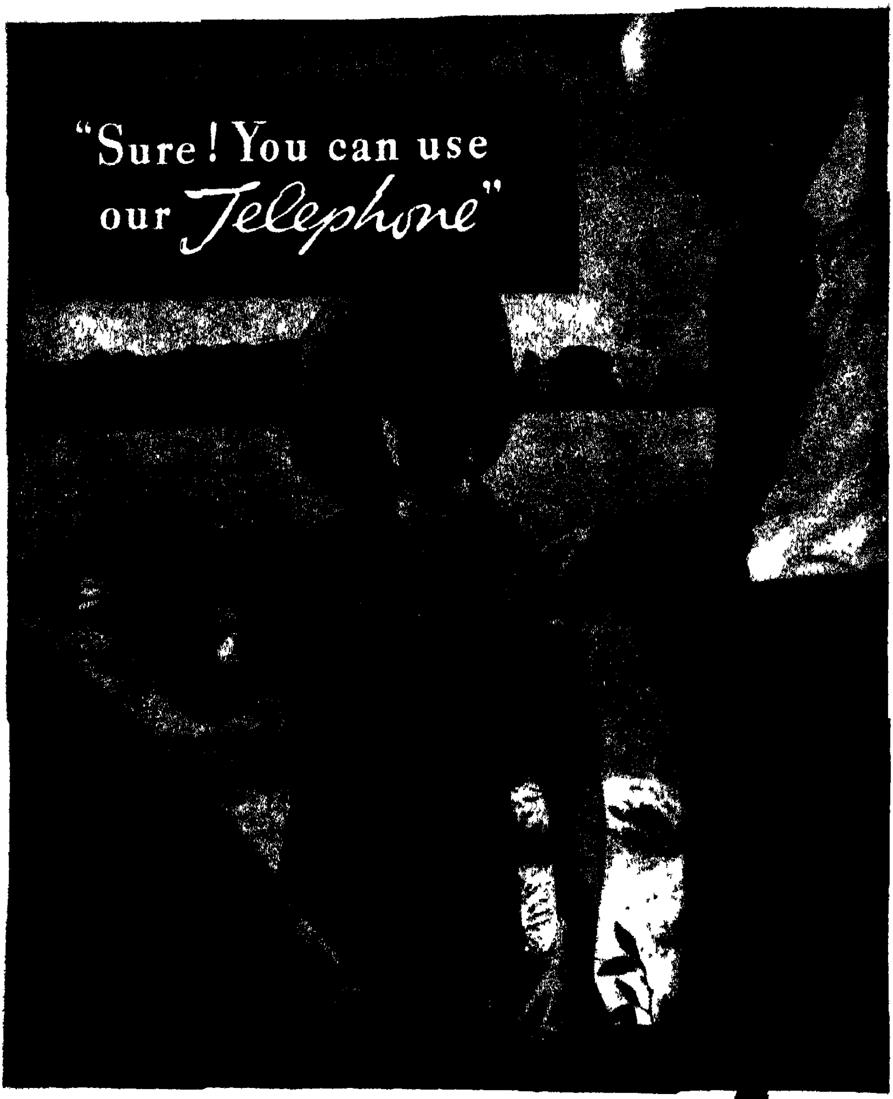
The book is a story of the loyalty, even above life itself, for the ideals of a new and finer society. It tells of an underground radical party leader in Germany who is discovered and condemned to die in a Nazi prison. But the hour of execution never came, for a "less important" party worker had substituted himself in order that Kassner, the "hero," might go free to continue his work for the communist cause.

Trotsky Explains

An excellent background study for *Days of Wrath* might be the *Third International After Lenin* by Leon Trotsky (Pioneer Publishers, $3.00). Ever since Trotsky was exiled from Russia, there has been much misunderstanding and speculation concerning the circumstances of his fall from power. But in his book Author Trotsky reveals the cause for cleavage with Stalin. And it will come as a surprise to more than a few to learn that the foundering of the friendship between the two giants of the revolution was on the question of nationalism and internationalism, rather than personal ambitions or party politics, as has been frequently said. Trotsky was adamant in his insistence that communism fulfill its mission and foment revolution through all the nations of Europe; Stalin was content to develop the "ideal state" within Russia's own borders.

Relentlessly rational, Trotsky demonstrates

(Continued on page 127)


"Sure! You can use
our Telephone"

Current HISTORY

JULY 1936

Log *of* Major Currents

AT HOME:

FOR eighty years, the American people have expressed themselves on national issues and have selected their national administrations, not only by virtue of a two-party system, but by virtue of the same two parties. Ever since Fremont's nomination as the first Republican Presidential candidate in 1856, they have lined up consistently as Republicans or Democrats. Each party has suffered from bolts and defections, but neither has suffered more than temporary set-backs.

When Grant beat Greeley in 1872, the Democratic Party appeared sick unto death, but four years later it rolled up a majority of the popular vote for Tilden. The Republican Party carried only two States in 1912 because of the "Bull Moose" movement, but in 1916 it came very close to electing Hughes, and in 1920 it swept the country.

Of the 20 national administrations selected since Fremont's nomination, 14 have been Republican and only six Democratic. This statement, however, would convey an erroneous impression as to trends and tendencies, if allowed to stand by itself. Of the first seven administrations, only one was Democratic; of the second seven, two were Democratic, and of the last six, three have been Democratic. Though its implication is obviously debatable, the Republican Party appears to have been losing prestige. It has suffered from two impressive defections—one in 1912 and one in 1924—and from an enormous shift of votes to Roosevelt in 1932.

Still, after making due allowance for all this, partisan loyalty is, as it always has been, the dominant fact in American politics. As a general proposition, American voters have contented themselves with going from one party to the other, or with taking short walks. The first requisite of candidates for high office continues to be a clean party record. Once in a blue moon, some independent survives the almost unforgivable sin of desertion. This is so exceptional, however, as to serve little purpose but to reveal the rule.

The two-party system has become a virtually fixed tradition with us Americans. It is difficult for most of us to visualize a third party in the genuine sense. If, as, and when a third party arrives, we take it for granted that one of the old parties will disappear. Such a condition handicaps anything

like articulate, constructive independence. The man or woman seeking a political career soon discovers that conformity is the price of success.

Critics who ignore the influence of partisan loyalty on American politics miss a vital factor. Any explanation of why we have pursued, or have failed to pursue certain policies, is bound to be unreliable and misleading, unless the force of that influence is taken into account. But—and this is worth considering—it can't go on forever. Like men themselves, the creations and institutions of men are mortal. Bolts and diversions are multiplying. Shifts in the vote are coming thicker and faster. Municipalities and even States are laying aside the brass collar of partisan allegiance. Labor grows restless and youth shows a disposition to break with tradition. Let him who can guess the answer.

Man or Impression

Seventy-six years ago, American voters, especially in the East, were asking each other, "Who is Lincoln?" Today, they are asking each other, "Who is Landon?" To this extent, at least, history repeats itself. Once again, a comparatively unknown Westerner emerges from a rather colorless prairie background to lead the Republican Party. Once again, a queer, unexpected surge of mass psychology develops to sweep aside carefully laid plans, costly campaigns, and old-time bosses.

Democrats—some of them, at least—profess delight at Landon's nomination. He will be an easy man to beat, they say. That is what Old Guard Republicans were saying not so long ago. Old Guard Republicans mistook the aggressive, articulate Senator Borah for their arch enemy. It was Landon, however, who beat them, and that, too, without even so much as hinting that he had the slightest desire to do so. Or are we mistaken, and was it something else—the crowd behind Landon, for instance, moved by impression, rather than leadership?

It is too early as yet to classify Governor Landon. He may be a genius in disguise. His build-up has been perfect, if the object was to satisfy rank-and-file cravings. These cravings were for a contrast, not only to the Old Guard, but to President Roosevelt—an offspring of the corn belt, a self-made standard-bearer of rural origin and environment, a prophet from the soil, a silent sage to belittle the effect of those pleasant "fireside" broadcasts. Governor Landon answers the need, though whether as the genuine article, or as the embodiment of a manufactured impression, remains to be seen.

Of course, Governor Landon balanced the budget. Considering the Kansas set-up, he could hardly have done otherwise, but let that pass. Any man who balances any budget, anywhere, and under any circumstances, is bound to make a favorable impression in these days of debt and deficit. Also, he is bound to become the victim of a delightful if unwarranted assumption —the assumption that if he can do as well by his State, he can do as well by the nation.

Meanwhile, and despite the similarity of his advent to that of Lincoln, the candidate Landon faces far different conditions. He challenges the record of a Roosevelt, not a Buchanan. He must attack an active, aggressive Administration, and overcome a thoroughly organized, well-financed, and highly confident Democratic Party. It is quite true that the Roosevelt Administration has followed a far different program from that indicated by the 1932 platform, that some of its experiments have turned sour while others have been outlawed, and that its

efforts to reduce unemployment have fallen short of what was hoped for and predicted. But here again we are dealing with an impression—the impression of sincere, courageous leadership, confronted with an emergency, willing to try anything once, candid in the admission of mistakes, and capable of changing methods.

Horizons, Real and Fanciful

Hope of quick recovery through experimenting, spending, and borrowing comes into sharp conflict with alarm at mounting debts, increased taxes, and the possibility of strained credits. The last Congress under Hoover appropriated slightly less than eight billion dollars; the first under Roosevelt, a little more than 12 billion and the second under Roosevelt—the one just adjourned—nearly 18 billion. Less than 50 years ago, a Republican Congress was excoriated for appropriating one billion dollars. In defending it, Thomas B. Reed declared, "This is a billion-dollar country."

It requires no great degree of speculative talent to take such facts, coupled with a whole lot more that are available, and weave some very romantic possibilities into the future. The financial situation, industrial situation, and political situation lend themselves readily to flights of fancy. One can begin by asserting that it is no longer a question of whether the New Deal should be preserved, but of whether it should be exhumed and revived; that it cannot be exhumed and revived without curbing the Supreme Court; that the Supreme Court cannot be curbed without a constitutional amendment; that an adequate constitutional amendment would abrogate some of the basic principles on which this Government rests, etc. One can proceed from dilemma to dilemma, from alternative to alternative, until he lands the United States in the lap of fascism or communism, according to his taste, by means of violent or bloodless revolution, according to his fancy. All this, however, leaves out some very important factors, such as the thought processes, habits of procedure, and general attitude of the American people, or at least a sufficient majority to decide matters.

President Roosevelt put his finger on the vital spot when he observed that recent Supreme Court decisions appeared to define a sort of "no man's land" of legislation. Such a "no man's land" is, and always has been, inherent in the American system of government. The founding fathers were careful to stake out and fence off fields into which no branch of the Government might enter. Some of the stakes have been changed and some of the fences shifted, but generally in a slow, cautious way, and then only after ample time for discussion. There is little warrant for the assumption that this method is about to be dropped to make room for impulsive heroics, especially in the realm of centralized control through bureaucracy.

Imaginative conservatives, as well as imaginative radicals, have clothed the New Deal with unreasonable implications. It was an emergency measure, and most people accepted it as such, including its sponsors. No doubt, some starry-eyed romancers visualized it as the basis of permanent and fundamental change, but they represented, and still represent, a hopelessly small minority. Most people accepted the New Deal just as they would accept the arbitrary organization and control of bewildered crowds at a country fire. They were not greatly concerned over its constitutionality, because of the fixed conviction that it would not outlive the emergency, save, perhaps, in certain minor details. All of which is

confirmed by the calmness with which most of the adverse Supreme Court decisions have been received, even by ardent New Deal supporters

War Without Profiteering

For seventeen years, we have been trying to chart a program of war without profiteering, war by universal draft, war which does not make fish out of one class and fowl out of another We have done a lot of talking, a lot of resolving, a lot of recommending, and a lot of bill-writing, but we are getting nowhere very fast.

The 1919 National Defense Act authorized the War and Navy Departments to formulate a plan for coordinating the country's forces and resources. In his inaugural address, President Harding said, "There is something inherently wrong with the democracy which sends its young men to war, and, at the same time, gives their fellow countrymen at home an opportunity to make enormous profits." The general staff presented a program for supply branches of the Army which was later endorsed by President Coolidge. In discussing this plan Representative Wainwright of New York said, "Success will depend on four kinds of mobilizations: first, of morale; second, of money, third, of men; and fourth, of munitions. Before we can intelligently plan for war, we must ask ourselves what we have and what we require as to each of these."

In 1931 and after a decade of discussion, the general program was modified, amended and rearranged, but without result. Two years later, it was laid before Congress in the form of seven bills, to wit:

1. A bill making available to the President the nation's man power.
2. A bill making available to the President the nation's material resources.
3. A bill relating to the acquisition of private property.
4. A bill authorizing the establishment of a bureau of war-risk marine insurance by the Treasury Department.
5. A bill creating a war-trade administration to prevent trading with the enemy through neutrals, etc.
6. A bill creating a war finance corporation to provide funds and credits for industry.
7. A bill creating a capital issue committee to supervise the sale of stocks and securities

As a supplement to, or substitute for, these seven bills, the War Department has recommended, if, as, and when a "war emergency" is proclaimed by the President. the registration of heads or managers of industrial plants; conscription of these plants; the fixing of agricultural and industrial prices; the financing of all war purchases through a Government-controlled corporation; a universal draft; and control of the press.

The War Department is, of course, primarily interested in an effective mobilization of the country's fighting power. The Senate Munitions Committee, however, is bent on taking the profits out of war and on substituting a pay-as-you-go policy for the old-time custom of mortgaging the future.

On June 8 the Senate Finance Committee reported the "war profits" bill already approved by the House. The bill provides for drastic increase of personal and corporate taxes, the object being to finance war by revenue instead of by loans. Personal exemptions from income taxes would be set at $800 for single persons and $1,600 for those married. The tax would begin with $40 on an income of $2,000 for a married person, ranging up through $880,510 for incomes of $1,000,000. Another section would

impose the following graduated taxes on corporations: 15 percent on net incomes not in excess of two percent of adjusted declared value, 25 percent on net incomes not in excess of six percent of adjusted declared value, and 100 percent on net incomes in excess of six percent adjusted declared value.

That Inevitable Pay-Day

All things considered, it was candid and courageous of President Roosevelt to recommend a sharp rise in taxes at this time, particularly on the undistributed earnings which many corporations are holding and husbanding against that proverbial "rainy day." Admitting that such a move had to be made sooner or later, he could have easily stalled it off until after election. The fact that he chose to meet the situation head-on is not only to his credit, but to the country's advantage. Outside of a few crackpots, every one realizes that we must pay back what has been borrowed and spent, and the quicker we begin, the quicker we will get through. One could wish that more Congressmen had followed the President's lead, in principle, if not in detail. The squirming has done little good.

The tax bill, as finally adopted, represents small, if any, improvement over the original idea. To be sure, the initial draft looked like a stunt exhibit of expert accounting, but it could have been simplified without sacrificing all the good points.

The House accepted the President's suggestions, enacting a bill, the outstanding feature of which was a tax on undistributed corporate earnings graduated up to 42½%. The Senate virtually tore the House bill to pieces, writing one of its own, in which the undistributed earnings tax was reduced to seven percent. To make up for the deficiency thus created, the Senate provided for a corporation income tax of 15 to 18 percent, for a normal tax of four percent on stock dividends, for an increase of one percent in the surtax on personal incomes between $6,000 and $50,000, a "windfall" tax of 80 percent on impounded or abated processing taxes, an import tax on a variety of animal fats, etc.

A conference committee is trying to iron out the differences between House and Senate tax bills as this is written, with the prospect of compromise through more or less hurried patchwork. No measure could be well drawn under such circumstances. Still, it represents the beginning of a task which we must face and carry through. Pay day looms as a rapidly growing cloud on our economic horizon. How, when and by what means shall we meet it? The question cannot be answered by theorizing, or fiat decree. We are confronted by an agglomerate of grim realities, among which unemployment and relief stand out with bleak distinctness.

Relief and Unemployment

We began the battle to beat depression with the assumption that once recovery began, unemployment and the consequent necessity for relief would gradually diminish. According to the most reliable estimates, there are about as many unemployed in this country as there were three years ago. There are certainly about as many on relief. According to equally reliable estimates, real progress has been made toward recovery. You can take one set of figures and prove that several million employables have gone back to work. You can take another set and prove that about the same number are out of work. The vast sums of money still being poured out of the public treasury to prevent distress tell the real story. Measured by the element of dependency, we have gained little. There are varied and conflicting views as to why this is so. These

views are going to play an important part in the forthcoming election.

According to one school of thought, the fundamental error lies in giving the Federal Government control of relief. It is only fair to recall, however, that such a course was adopted, not so much because the Federal Government insisted on assuming the burden, as because the States, cities, towns, and other local agencies wanted to get rid of it. The idea of returning the relief problem to States, cities, towns, and other local agencies may be wise, but the real point is that few thought so three years ago.

Black Legion

Seasons of confusion, bewilderment, and uncertainty, like that through which we have been passing, invariably produce a crop of weird ideas, some of which find expression in weird activities. Perplexity and distress form a natural background for the witch doctor, the witch burner, and the witch delusion. One can think of no better excuse or explanation for the outcropping of such cults as the Black Legion.

There is nothing original in this latest manifestation of the hatred-horseplay complex, this bent for disguised terrorism. We get a whiff of it every so often. There was the "Know Nothing" movement, the "Night Riders", the "White Caps", the A P A and Ku Klux Klan, to mention only some of the more important outbreaks.

While it is hardly possible to overestimate the moral and legal offensiveness of such outfits, it is possible to exaggerate their strength and seriousness. To a certain extent, they indicate mental derangement, usually localized and usually short-lived. There is little to suggest that they represent anything approaching a country-wide attitude, or a permanent menace.

According to one statement, the Black Legion is spread through 15 States. According to another, it has six million members. That is sheer nonsense. No one heard of it, until the bullet-riddled corpse of Charles A. Poole was discovered. Our news-gathering system must be very inefficient if an organization, even a secret organization, can spread into 15 States and enroll six million members, without anybody being aware of its existence. Just how many organizations can you think of, with six million members? The two major political parties and the three leading churches just about cover them.

Republican Platform

The best comment that can be made on the Republican platform of 1936 at this time is to enumerate its more important pledges and declarations. Here they are:

Re-employment

The only permanent solution of the unemployment problem is the absorption of the unemployed by industry and agriculture. We advocate:

Removal of restrictions on production. Abandonment of all New Deal policies that raise production costs, increase the cost of living and thereby restrict buying, reduce volume, and prevent re-employment. Encouragement instead of hindrance to legitimate business. Withdrawal of government from competition with private payrolls. Elimination of unnecessary and hampering regulations. Adoption of such other policies as will furnish a chance for individual enterprise, industrial expansion and the restoration of jobs.

Relief

To end confusion, partisanship, waste, and incompetence, we pledge:

1 The return of responsibility for relief administration to non-political local agencies familiar with community problems.



THE KEYNOTE—"AND IT COMES OUT HERE . . ."

—*New York Post*

2. Federal grants-in-aid to the States and Territories while the need exists upon compliance with these conditions: (a) a fair proportion of the total relief burden to be provided from the revenues of States and local governments; (b) all engaged in relief administration to be selected on the basis of merit and fitness; (c) adequate provision to be made for the encouragement of those persons who are trying to become self-supporting.

3. Undertaking of Federal public works only on their merits and separate from the administration of relief.

4. A prompt determination of the facts concerning relief and unemployment.

Security

We propose a system of old age security, based upon the following principles:

1. We approve a pay-as-you-go pol-

icy, which requires of each generation the support of the aged and determination of what is adequate.

2. Every American citizen over 65 should receive the supplementary payment necessary to provide a minimum income sufficient to protect him or her from want.

3. Each State and Territory, upon complying with simple and general minimum standards, should receive from the Federal Government a graduated contribution in proportion to its own, up to a fixed maximum.

4. To make this program consistent with sound fiscal policy the Federal revenues for this purpose must be provided from the proceeds of a direct tax widely distributed

We propose to encourage adoption by the States and Territories of honest and practical measures for meeting the problems of unemployment insurance.

Labor

We pledge ourselves to:

Protect the rights of labor to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing without interference from any source

Prevent governmental jobholders from exercising autocratic powers over labor

Support the adoption of State laws and interstate compacts to abolish sweatshops and child labor, and to protect women and children with respect to maximum hours, minimum wages, and working conditions We believe that this can be done within the Constitution as it now stands.

Agriculture

We propose:

1. To facilitate economical production and increased consumption on a basis of abundance instead of scarcity

2. A national land-use program, including the acquisition of abandoned and non-productive farm land by voluntary sale or lease and subject to the approval of the Legislative and Executive branches of the States concerned and the devotion of such land to appropriate public use, such as watershed protection and flood prevention, reforestation, recreation, and conservation of wild life.

3 That an agricultural policy be pursued for the protection and restoration of the land resources, designed to bring about such a balance between soil-building and soil-depleting crops as will permanently insure productivity, with reasonable benefits to cooperating farmers on family-type farms, but so regulated as to eliminate the New Deal's destructive policy toward the dairy and livestock industries.

4. To extend experimental aid to farmers developing new crops suited to our soil and climate.

5. To promote the industrial use of farm products by applied science.

6. To protect the American farmer against the importation of all livestock, dairy and agricultural products, substitutes therefor, and derivatives therefrom, which will depress American farm prices.

7. To provide effective quarantine against imported livestock, dairy and other farm products from countries which do not impose health and sanitary regulations fully equal to those required of our own producers

8. To provide for ample farm credit at rates as low as those enjoyed by other industries, including commodity and livestock loans, and preference in land loans to the farmer acquiring or refinancing a farm as a home.

9. To provide for decentralized, non-partisan control of the Farm Credit Administration and the election by National Farm Loan Associations of at least one-half of the board of

directors of the Federal Land Banks, and thereby remove these institutions from politics.

10. To provide in the case of agriculture products of which there are exportable surpluses the payment of reasonable benefits upon the domestically consumed portion of such crops in order to make the tariff effective. These payments are to be limited to the production level of the family-type farm.

11. To encourage and further develop cooperative marketing.

12. To furnish government assistance in disposing of surpluses in foreign trade by bargaining for foreign markets selectively by countries both as to exports and imports. We strenuously oppose so-called reciprocal treaties which trade off the American farmer.

13. To give every reasonable assistance to producers in areas suffering from temporary disaster, so that they may regain and maintain a self-supporting status.

Tariff

We will repeal the present Reciprocal Trade Agreement Law. It is futile and dangerous. Its effect on agriculture and industry has been destructive. Its continuation would work to the detriment of the wage-earner and the farmer.

We will restore the principle of the flexible tariff in order to meet changing economic conditions here and abroad and broaden by careful definition the powers of the Tariff Commission in order to extend this policy along nonpartisan lines.

We will adjust tariffs with a view to promoting international trade, the stabilization of currencies and the attainment of a proper balance between agriculture and industry.

We condemn the secret negotiation of reciprocal trade treaties without public hearing or legislative approval.

Monopolies

We favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal laws, as well as the civil laws, against monopolies and trusts and their officials, and we demand the enactment of such additional legislation as is necessary to make it impossible for private monopoly to exist in the United States.

We will employ the full powers of the government to the end that monopoly shall be eliminated and that free enterprise shall be fully restored and maintained.

Regulation of Business

We favor Federal regulation, within the Constitution, of the marketing of securities to protect investors. We favor also Federal regulation of the interstate activities of public utilities.



THE CANDIDATES
ARE ALREADY PICKED
AND THEY'VE GOT A PLATFORM
THAT'S SCARCELY BEEN USED

—*Des Moines Register*

Civil Service

We pledge ourselves to the merit system, virtually destroyed by New Deal spoilsmen. It should be restored, improved and extended.

We will provide such conditions as offer an attractive permanent career in government service to young men and women of ability, irrespective of party affiliations.

Government Finance

We pledge ourselves to:

Stop the folly of uncontrolled spending. Balance the budget--not by increasing taxes, but by cutting expenditures, drastically and immediately. Revise the Federal tax system and coordinate it with State and local tax systems. Use the taxing power for raising revenue and not for punitive or political purposes.

Money and Banking

We advocate a sound currency to be preserved at all hazard. We oppose further devaluation of the dollar. We will restore to the Congress the authority lodged with it by the Constitution to coin money and regulate the value thereof by repealing all the laws delegating this authority to the Executive. We will cooperate with other countries toward stabilization of currencies as soon as we can do so with due regard for our national interests and as soon as other nations have sufficient stability to justify such action.

Foreign Affairs

We pledge ourselves to promote and maintain peace by all honorable means not leading to foreign alliances or political commitments. Obedient to the traditional foreign policy of America and to the repeatedly expressed will of the American people, we pledge that America shall not become a member of the League of Nations nor of the World Court, nor shall America take on any entangling alliances in foreign affairs. We shall promote, as the best means of securing and maintaining peace by the pacific settlement of disputes, the great cause of international arbitration through the establishment of free, independent tribunals, which shall determine such disputes in accordance with law, equity and justice.

National Defense

We favor an Army and Navy, including air forces, adequate for our national defense. We will cooperate with nations in the limitation of armaments and control of traffic in arms.

Bill of Rights

We pledge ourselves to preserve, protect, and defend, against all intimidation and threat, freedom of religion, speech, press and radio; and the right of assembly and petition and immunity from unreasonable searches and seizures.

We offer the abiding security of a government of laws as against the autocratic perils of a government of men.

Furthermore

1. We favor the construction by the Federal Government of headwater storage basins to prevent floods, subject to the approval of the legislative and executive branches of the governments of the States whose lands are concerned.

2. We favor equal opportunity for our colored citizens. We pledge our protection of their economic status and personal safety.

3. To our Indian population we pledge every effort on the part of the National Government to ameliorate living conditions for them.

4. We pledge continuation of the Republican policy of adequate compen-

sation and care for veterans disabled in the service of our country and for their widows, orphans, and dependents.

5. We shall use every effort to collect the war debt due us from foreign countries, amounting to $12,000,000,000—one third of our national debt.

6. We are opposed to legislation which discriminates against women in Federal and state employment.

ABROAD:

Two games have been played in Europe: the war game and the peace game. By the rules of the first, might is right, and the objectives of foreign policy are man-power, economic power, and armaments. The peace game depends for its existence on the continued observance of just treaties, on mutual compromise and collective action between nations. The belief of a pacifist is succinctly described by the Oxford Dictionary as follows:

> **Pacifism:** The doctrine or belief that it is desirable and possible to settle international disputes by peaceful means.

Ostensibly, Europe has pursued pacifism since the World War; nations have avowed that the guiding lights of their respective foreign policies were the principles of the League of Nations.

Now Germany and Italy have sabotaged the peace game and are dominating international politics. Europe is a pacifist's nightmare; confusion is the preeminent force as nations frantically seek, at best, to find a new peace formula, or, at worst, to make up for lost ground in the accumulation of their power resources.

Pacifists' Plight

Those who are crowing over the break-down of the League of Nations may only be greeting their own funerals. The theory embodied in that institution still remains valid as the only feasible way of preserving peace. Furthermore, the extent of the break-down can be exaggerated. The mere fact that the discussion of international problems is focused at Geneva represents an inestimable advance over the pre-war era.

There is a common misconception to the effect that the League of Nations has been an abstract, disembodied entity, which has proved to be an impractical addition to the world's politics. On the contrary, the League has been no more than the nations which subscribed to it; its failure is the failure of its member nations, who have not been willing to sacrifice their interests to their professedly pacific principles.

Admittedly, the League got off to a bad start with the abstention of the United States. But its position was made much worse when it became the instrument for the enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles. For example, if the Allies had seen fit to rectify an unjust peace during the Stresemann régime, Hitler might still be an obscure crank, prating in Munich beer halls. And Austria might not now be a cause of international hysteria had not the "strict constructionists" of the World Court deemed "unconstitutional" the very natural customs union with Germany, proposed in 1929.

The recent Italo-Ethiopian imbroglio affords another instance in which the actions belied the professions of the pacific powers. England forced through sanctions when the Sudan and the Suez Canal were threatened; France held back desiring Italy as an ally against Germany. France demanded action against remilitarization of the Rhineland; England condoned Hitler's treaty defiance, anxious not to offend a possible associate.

Today the erstwhile pacific powers are paying for their lack of foresight and their failure to cooperate. The future penalty may be war. The present penalty is a painful dilemma: They may change their ways and make a new start; but this savors of a death-bed repentance, and an ugly echo suggests, "Too late." Or these powers may revert whole-heartedly to the game of alliances and armaments, in which they have already lost much valuable time.

—In England

In Great Britain, a pacifist (by the Oxford definition) would probably wish devoutly that the island could be towed out and anchored somewhere in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean.

But, being bound inevitably to Europe, he would find himself in an immediate quandary, projecting future problems. The immediate issue is that of sanctions against Italy. Our pacifist might string along with the Liberal Party, the Labor Party, the League of Nations Union, and Lloyd George's Council of Action, and vote for their continuance. His argument would be that his country was pledged to support the League and that there would be no telling what might happen next if Italy were permitted to get away with her aggression.

Again, he might vote for the dropping of sanctions, on either of two pretexts, both equally pacific in intention. He might agree with the Socialist League, the left wing of the Labor Party, that British action against Italy was solely imperialistic and that the League of Nations was nothing more than a capitalistic conspiracy, more menacing than helpful to the cause of peace. Or he might take the view that sanctions have done no good, anyway, and agree with Sir Austen Chamberlain, who said: "We would merely extend the conflict. We would fight, not for peace, but for revenge."

The return of Sir Samuel Hoare to the Cabinet suggests that the anti-sanctionist group will win the day.

Desiring peace, the pacifist would have been disturbed to see the members of the League of Nations meet to decide upon its future and, instead, decide to follow its past by adjourning for another month. But the issue of what means should now be adopted for the preservation of peace, he could not ignore, and he would have the arguments of two schools of thought thrust upon him.

The first line he would hear from Mr. Baldwin and read in the London *Times*. It runs that the League should be "reformed" by watering down its sanctions so that Germany particularly, Japan, and perhaps the States might see fit to come in. This pro-German policy would revise the Treaty of Versailles, even in the direction of colonies, and limit England's continental commitments to a minimum; she would fight only to keep an invader out of the Channel ports or to preserve the Imperial route to the Far East. It would remove certain international injustices, but it would mean the indorsement of the Nazis, at which many hesitate.

The other policy offered is a reconstruction of the Stresa front, aiming at an "iron ring" around Germany. Sir Austen Chamberlain and Winston Churchill, like it, as do, for different reasons, those liberal elements which would like to join hands with left-wing France and Russia. But it would also mean bringing Italy into the party, and British-Italian feeling is bitter.

In short, the pacifist is offered a League which wouldn't work or a League which, although effective, would be nothing more than an armed alliance.

Worse to any Englishman, however,

than this confusion is the fact that Mussolini has successfully challenged British naval supremacy in the Mediterranean. Since the war, Britain has substituted for physical supremacy a diplomatic—or, if you prefer, a moral—supremacy based upon a system of collective security. The failure of the League of Nations has inflicted an unprecedented loss of prestige and has also revealed the limitations of her active power. The launching of a dozen *Queen Marys* will not quite heal this wound.

—And in France

If the month found an English pacifist utterly perplexed, not even knowing whom he would like for allies or, in the last extremity, whom he might have to fight, his French counterpart was guided by two of the definitely fixed points in the confusion of European policies. The first of these is France's deadly fear of invasion; the second, the Franco-Soviet alliance.

Professing a desire to support the collective system, a member, say, of one or another party of the Popular Front would be reluctant to see sanctions go by the board. Yet his French logic would convince him that to retain them amounted only to locking up the house when the burglar was well away. In fact, the problem remained secondary to the more important one of Italian support against Germany. There is the additional consideration—which a member of the Left Wing might disclaim—that Mussolini will not discuss the French rights to the Djibouti railway until sanctions are raised.

When it comes to "reforming" the League, there is only one French view: that the organization should be based on France and Russia. It should be equipped with effective and swift-moving sanctions, for France is subject to sudden attack.

Upon this foundation, M. Blum, newly elected Socialist Premier, would like to construct, as a minimum, mutual assistance treaties with Great Britain and the Little Entente. He would also like to add an arrangement with Germany; but the odds are not in his favor. He is a Jew at the head of the militantly anti-fascist Popular Front. France, too, has little to offer Hitler, save a guarantee of security on Germany's western flank, so that Der Führer can attack Russia in the East. But Russia is France's most trusted ally.

To add to his woes, M. Blum has the ticklish job of keeping together the Communists on the left and the Radical-Socialists on his right, not to mention warding off the fascists. History may say of him that his was the tragedy of a man who might have served his country to perfection even a brief six months before his election, but who arrived as a statesman of conciliation when the only language understood was that of the mailed fist.

Power Politics

While the democratic nations are getting bogged down by doubts, the three main dictatorships have found their certainties down in the old, time-tried fundamentals.

Germany and Italy never did have much use for the principles of collective security or democracy, which they regard as so much piffling sentimentality. A pacifist in those two nations would find himself forced to live either in a concentration camp or in an ivory tower. Hitler and Mussolini have placed their faith in their force.

Russia, too, has followed this policy, with the marked difference that her objective in doing so has been defen-

sive; she wants reliable assurance that she can force through her own domestic developments.

All three nations have taken Napoleon's advice to the effect that God fights on the side of the biggest battalions and that all you need is mothers. Germany, for instance, knows well that France's fear of her is not only because of her greater population, but also because the German birth rate is much higher. Along this line, Russia intensified a policy as significant for her ultimate importance on the map as the introduction of communism. She framed a program for the restriction of abortions and the increase of institutions to care for the new-born. Russia has 173,000,000 inhabitants now and even at the present rate of increase, expects to have 300,000,000 by the end of the eighth five year plan in 1968. The new plan will improve on those figures.

In the field of armaments, there is the same story. Dictatorships have gained a substantial head-start while other nations abstained from building in the unfulfilled hope of limitation agreements.

Today Great Britain wants a naval and air accord with Russia. But the Soviets will not limit their Navy while Japan is still unshackled in the Far East; nor will they even exchange building plans. This means that there cannot be an Anglo-German accord on account of Soviet-German rivalry in the Baltic. Then, too, Russia now has the largest air fleet in the world; and here once more Soviet-German rivalry prevents agreement with Great Britain.

Since the failure of the League to curb Mussolini, Russia, hitherto a League supporter, feels justified in taking whatever measures she sees fit to protect herself against Germany in the West and Japan in the East.

Dictators in the Saddle

Today, for better or for worse, the dictators are in the saddle in Europe. And for several reasons.

In contrast to the confusion in which other nations now find themselves when they seek to redefine their foreign policies, the dictators know what they want. They have known what they wanted for years and have followed their objective consistently. That in itself gives them a material advantage.

They have based their policies upon the analysis that in a final show-down the nation with the greatest resources of power would win. The only condition that would prevent that, would be agreement among other nations to pool their resources against a treaty-breaker or aggressor; the dictators assumed that this would not happen, whatever professions the more pacific countries might make. Events show the dictators to have been the realists. They have achieved a position in which they could say, in effect, to the other nations, "Fight or shut up." The answer has been silence.

The dictators have imposed power politics on Europe greatly to their own advantage. Having made the most of their head-start in accumulating power, they know it is patently ridiculous for Great Britain, France, and the others to play the peace game and reduce armaments among themselves. And the corollary of this is that, if the dictatorships are to come to any general agreement for the assurance of peace, they can exact handsome concessions as the price of their membership.

An Austrian Deal?

Reflecting as it does every vagary of the major powers, Austria is one place in which an answer may be



A HORNETS' NEST
—*United Feature Syndicate*

sought to a vital European question: will Mussolini join the bloc of nations which is intent on preserving the *status quo* (France, Russia, and the Little Entente), or will he line up with his fascist colleague, Hitler, in forcing further territorial revision? Il Duce has asserted that, since her Ethiopian conquest, Italy may be counted among the "satisfied powers"; nevertheless recent events in Austria showed that he is willing to make at least a gesture towards Germany.

Austria has leaned heavily on Italian support. With an increasingly ambitious Germany in the north, a growing Nazi movement at home, and a Government enjoying the support of an estimated 10% of the population, the Administration sorely needed Mussolini's moral backing as well as his material contributions to the upkeep of Prince von Starhemberg's *Heimwehr* which was a necessary substitute for popularity.

However, the Prince's explosive political career has ended in a whimper. For his removal from the Vice Chancellorship, he could largely thank his indiscreet telegram congratulating Mussolini on his triumph "over barbarians and democratic dishonesty and hypocrisy." Austria was financially rehabilitated by the League in 1923 and is virtually in pawn to several democratic powers, notably England, France, and the United States; and so the ensuing diplomatic protests had to be respected.

It followed that the Prince also lost the support of Mussolini. The latter wants the democratic powers to recognize his new colony, and it is a safe bet that the telegram convinced him that the Prince was a dangerous windbag.

A more concrete reason for Mussolini's transfer of patronage from Von Starhemberg to Chancellor von Schuschnigg, however, was Il Duce's proposal for conscription in Austria, wiping out the *Heimwehr*—a step naturally opposed by the Prince. The Ethiopian campaign has cost Italy a lot of money—$1,000,000,000, it is estimated. This explains Mussolini's desire to be rid of his financial respon-



AMONG THE CASUALTIES OF THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN POLICY
—*The George Matthew Adams Service*

sibilities to the *Heimwehr,* which is now being absorbed into the Government's Fatherland Front. Similarly, Italian troops are preoccupied in Africa, further weakening the Italian prop under Austrian independence, which Mussolini would, nevertheless, like to see maintained.

As usual, Hapsburg restoration was rumored as an immediate solution of the problem. Chancellor Schuschnigg's visit to Italy, however, suggests the more likely expedient of a deal between Italy and Germany, whereby the moderate Austrian Nazis, who are willing to accept independence for the time being, would support the present clerical, fascist Government. This would preserve fascism in Austria and would also give Mussolini and Hitler another asset when they start to bargain with the rest of Europe.

Left and Right

French Communists sing the *Marseillaise* as enthusiastically as the *Internationale;* the vice president of the Radical-Socialist Party, writing in the *World Review of Reviews,* rejoices that the Communists have moved towards a "rational conception of patriotism." Nevertheless, labor may be said to be working on the international side of the fence, and it may justifiably be suggested that one factor which makes the more rabid nationalists think twice before declaring war is the fear of a consequent Left-Wing revolt.

In June, labor, relatively international, showed gains in strength which more than offset advances made by fascism, which is nationalistic by any standard of judgment.

French radicals have seen many of their former colleagues, notably Clemenceau and Briand, go the way of all flesh when elected to power. They decided on steps to make sure that Leon Blum would not likewise degenerate into a conservative. Without resorting to violence, 1,000,000 workers showed their strength by indulging in a strike which closed down stores and factories, stopped newspaper presses, and threatened a food shortage. Victory went to the strikers, who gained a seven to fifteen percent raise in wages, recognition of their unions, and the promise of a 40-hour week.

Belgium joined the swing leftward in Western Europe, the Socialist party strengthening its position in the election. Against this, the election was marked by the emergence of a fascist party—the Rexists, a group of militant, dissident Catholics. Its forceful and loud-voiced leader, Degrelle, was tutored by Dollfuss and then by the Nazis. In working out his plans for a fascist Belgium, he inclines to the German ideal, although rejecting its Protestantism in deference to Belgian conditions. It was obvious during the election that the Rexist Party was heavily financed, and the finger of suspicion was pointed at Germany, whose press welcomed the advance made by the new party.

In Spain, workers sought to capitalize on the presence in power of a radical government by means of strikes. On the other hand, in Austria the Schuschnigg Government made definite gestures to the moderate Nazis—or, as they prefer to call themselves, the "Pronounced Nationals"—further consolidating fascism.

Palestine: A World Problem

Palestine is not a problem in itself. It has been made the repository for a series of world problems which could not find a solution elsewhere: nationalism, and anti-semitism; and legacies from the war.

That Italian propaganda has intensified the conflict in Palestine cannot be

denied. In view of Mussolini's expressed desire for friendly relations with Great Britain, this propaganda can be attributed either to overzealous lieutenants, athirst for further spoils, or to a circuitous strategy on the part of Il Duce by which he hopes to improve his bargaining position *vis-à-vis* Great Britain.

Actually the conflict is much more profound, arising from the inevitable contradictions of the peerlessly vague idealism of the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The first part of that declaration reads:

> "His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object."

All well and good! The Great Dispersion of Jews from Palestine had begun several centuries before Christ; a historic, prescriptive right was being recognized. The British Government would insure Jewish immigration, and Jerusalem, formerly only a spiritual home, would become an actual home for a persecuted race.

The second part of the declaration reads:

> "It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

The existing non-Jewish communities, so lightly dismissed, represented well over 700,000 Arabs, who had been settled in the country for thirteen centuries and who had, furthermore, been promised freedom and independence as the price for their support of the Allied Powers during the war.

There are thus two issues in Palestine: Arabs versus Jews, and Arabs versus Great Britain. And these issues have been brought to a climax by the phenomenal increase of Jewish immigration during the last few years. (See page 65.)

The British policy has been to deny redress for the Arabs until disorders cease. A Royal Commission has been appointed to investigate grievances, but with imperial prestige at its present nadir there is no prospect of England consenting to any substantial weakening of her position. Assuming there were such a prospect, the fact remains that there is no solution for the problem within Palestine. For the Jew today is essentially a Westener, his Semitic traces are well-nigh lost, and in culture, tradition, temperament, and religion he would seem almost irreconcilable with his distant Arab cousin, at least in the cramped quarters of Palestine. It has been suggested that elsewhere—perhaps in a broader Asiatic region—the two peoples might assimilate, or at least join hands in some common reclamation, but, if confined to Palestine, there would seem to be little hope.

India

There have been two important changes of leadership in India, both of which will have repercussions on the policies of the British and of the natives who resist the British *Raj*. A new Viceroy has been inducted, and leadership of the Indian National Congress has passed into fresh hands.

Lord Willingdon departed, leaving behind a record of ruthless suppression of the nationalist movement. The appointment of the Earl of Linlithgow, who was largely responsible for the drafting of the new Indian constitution, suggests a policy of seeking the support of nationalist leaders in

favor of the Federal scheme proposed by the British Government.

Nationalist leaders, however, have become more militant and less compromising. In strong contrast to the passive resistance advocated by Mahatma Gandhi is the policy of Pandit Nehru, new president of the National Congress, spearhead of the independence movement. "Our members must fight and not spin," he has asserted. In his presidential address before the annual session of the Congress at Lucknow, in which some 75,000 delegates and members from all over the country participated, he advocated a republic of peasants and workers. Suiting the action to the word, Nehru, the youngest man ever elected to his position, planned a tour of the country to organize the peasants.

Farmers are the backbone of India; 75% of the population either till the land or are directly connected with agriculture. The program, therefore, means carrying the struggle for independence to the masses more intensely than ever before. Although Gandhi is not in full sympathy with all Nehru's socialistic tendencies, he has exhorted his followers to give their full support to his former right-hand man

To offset the nationalist campaign, the Government hastened to announce the appropriation of 10,000,000 rupees for agricultural relief. Nationalist leaders in the Legislative Assembly interpreted the move as a victory for Gandhi's rural reconstruction work and also for Nehru's campaign among the farmers.

Crisis in the Far East

Events in the Far East moved rapidly and unexpectedly out of the stage of mere diplomatic jockeying into the grimmer phases of economic conflict and military tension.

Economic penetration has been used as the spearhead of the Japanese advance towards complete dominance in North China. The military situation was given a sudden turn by the ultimatum sent to the Nanking Nationalist Government by the South China Government, threatening civil war unless opposition to Japan were seriously undertaken.

China, now torn by internal conflict, is left to fight it out alone with Japan, since Great Britain is preoccupied with Africa and Europe and America with her domestic affairs. The situation may be altered, of course, if Japan runs foul of Russia, but for the moment, at least, this is a clash Tokyo much prefers to avoid.

Military Tension

Japanese statesmen are in the habit of declaring that they do not want war. The answer to that is the continued pouring of troops into North China provinces at a rate which, in recent weeks, accelerated markedly. Optimists who hoped that Japan would be satisfied with consolidating her position in Hopei and Chahar had their hopes dashed when it became abundantly clear that Japan wants all five northern provinces for her game-bag and that she is in all probability preparing to establish Henry Pu Yi, the puppet Emperor of Manchukuo, on China's dragon throne in Peiping.

The point at which the Chinese will lose patience and offer armed resistance, no matter how vainly, is rapidly approaching. A significant statement was made in *Asia Magazine* by Hu Shih, the Chinese philosopher who was recently recognized by Harvard as one of the world's leading scholars:

"I have been for twenty-five years a pacifist and an internationalist. But * * * I have found my pacifism fading away. Japan is forcing China to fight —I can see no other way."

Chiang Kai-shek, head of the Nationalist Government at Nanking, has not yet made his position clear regarding the actions of Japan. For one thing, there is not much he can do about it; for another, he prefers the Japanese to the communists. Therefore, he was placed in a position of extreme difficulty when the South China Government, which leans towards communism and has been drifting steadily away from Nanking, decided to force his hand. Canton declared that, if Chiang Kai-Shek would not fight the Japanese, South Chinese troops would fight him. Faced with the prospect of civil war if he does not attempt the hopeless task of resisting Japan, Chiang Kai-Shek faces the dismal alternative that, if he does try it, he has little assurance that the southern Government will not, in any case, take advantage of his preoccupation in the North to seize the Central Government at Nanking.

No matter who fights whom, Japan is obviously the winner.

Economic Conflict

Four nations long have been competing for the China trade—Japan, Russia, the United States, and Great Britain. Japan is now aggressively on the attack, while a fifth nation has entered the lists: in 1935, German exports to China exceeded those of Great Britain for the first time. Whether or not this is an indication that the much-rumored German-Japanese alliance is actually operative, the two nations are gaining at the expense of their long-established business competitors.

The immediate cause of the present controversy is Japanese smuggling into North China. Eastern Hopei's puppet Government, which is under control of the Japanese, has reduced tariffs to 25% of the Chinese rate; direct smuggling is also taking place and the Chinese market is being flooded with cheap Japanese and Manchukuoan goods. More serious is the fact that customs receipts, upon which the central Government at Nanking is dependent, are not being remitted. Chinese protests have proved futile. The customs officials are disarmed by treaty; furthermore, only those which are in the control of the Japanese remain. Boycotts on Japanese goods, the Chinese know, will only bring sharp reprisals, while the Japanese, for their part, assert that Eastern Hopei is acting independently and voluntarily and that North China will thrive under all the blessings of "free trade."

England and the United States have sought to effect currency agreements with China in an effort to obstruct the Japanese encroachments, but these have proved ineffective. The Japanese have reasserted their Eastern "Monroe Doctrine," resenting the interference of other powers, who are too busy with other affairs anyway. China herself is helpless. Protests or no protests, Japanese economic invasion, with its consequent undermining of Chinese political sovereignty, will continue unchecked.

Pan America

The first rosy flush of enthusiasm for the proposed Pan American conference, strong in May, has faded. As expected, Canada remained aloof. Among the nations more vitally concerned, there were evident conflicting trends, towards and away from Geneva; and combined with high expectations for a Pan American "League of Nations" was a distrust of the whole idea of international cooperation. Procrastination has become the order of the day, encouraged as it has been by domestic disturbances.

Canada Between Two Worlds

Canada has made no move towards aligning her foreign policy with that of the Pan American nations in general and the United States in particular. She has kept one foot in each world. She is linked to Great Britain by sentiment and tradition—but not by constraint. Her contractual obligations towards the Old World are those assumed as a member of the League of Nations. Yet she is inescapably a North American nation by the facts of geography.

The crisis of the League presents her with this problem: she may follow Great Britain with her European entanglements, or adopt North American isolationism. Public opinion is seriously divided as to what course Canada should take, were Great Britain to find herself at war, while the States were intent on preserving neutrality.

Conservative loyalist elements, strong in the East and Far West, would follow Great Britain, "right or wrong." At the other pole, Quebec, plus radical groups throughout the country, would oppose participation. In the center is a large group of moderate liberals who would resolve the problem by agreeing to fight a "League war." The next war certainly will be advertised as a League war, but in the meantime this group is shedding members to the extremes on the right and left, as the peace machinery has progressively crumbled.

What the outcome might be is uncertain. Canada is not likely to leap to arms with the same alacrity as in 1914. Nor is political union with the States (Representative Sirovich's fantasies notwithstanding) the alternative. Some form of neutral alliance would be more probable, yet against this, the position of the isolationist groups presents certain weaknesses. Quebec and the radicals balk at the enactment of neutrality legislation, which is assumedly essential to keeping out of a future war. Quebec dreads any steps which may encourage the Americanization of Canada and threaten the French-Canadian cultural autonomy. English elements are strong in the radical movement and they hesitate to take a step which implies secession from the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The issue threatens a bitter internal conflict. It may be said that Canadians will do all they can to retain their position with one foot in each world.

South America Hesitates

Argentina was responsible for the diplomatic surprise of the month, when she insisted that the whole League Assembly rather than the League Council should deal with the question of sanctions against Italy. The small nations, who can have their say in the Assembly and not in the Council, are predominantly in favor of the continuance of sanctions, realizing that they themselves may some day go the way of Ethiopia without League protection. Consequently, Argentina pricked where it hurt most the consciences of the great powers, who were just adjusting themselves nicely to acceptance of the Italian victory and rubbing from their minds an unpleasant memory. The Argentinian action also showed an unexpected interest in the European peace system on the part of an American nation.

But while Argentina glanced significantly across the Atlantic, Guatemala, Ecuador, and Chile looked resolutely the other way. Guatemala resigned from the League outright, with Geneva suspecting that the action was due to the influence of Italians in Guatemala's internal affairs. Ecuador refused to take further action against

Italy, and at Geneva, wits said of the anti-sanctionists, "a little Ecuador shall lead them." Chile threatened to withdraw from the League unless sanctions were raised, and at the same time, her President expressed hopes for the Pan American conference, which he saw as a preferable alternative.

Representatives of Argentina, Mexico, and Guatemala drew up a program for the Buenos Aires meeting, covering organization of peace, neutrality, limitation of armaments, juridical problems, economic problems, and intellectual cooperation—all the proposals being on the Geneva model.

Meanwhile, the conference has been postponed on the grounds that the South American nations are anxious to await the results of the Presidential elections in the United States.

SCIENCE

President C. M. Goethe of the Eugenics Research Association recently delivered some startling if jejune opinions to that body. His topic was "Patriotism and Racial Standards."

With an unscientific lack of restraint Goethe extolled the virtues of the mythical Nordic. A surprising harmony of observation and deduction with those of another famous eugenicist now practicing in Europe obtain throughout the body of his opinion. Accepting the recently enforced marriage of politics and eugenics, Goethe adopts the number one fallacy of treating race and nationality as synonymous and then proceeds to make out a bad case against the "lesser" brothers who wear a skin of darker pigment than the Nordic.

He indorses the immigration quota laws, imputing to them an intrinsic eugenic value of a high order. And it is not denied that such laws have successfully excluded those "lesser" breeds germinated on the Mediterranean littoral—breeds that have already seeped into the country and by various subhuman devices managed to compete and often win first-line positions while they defiled the race by writing some of the best literature, painting some of the best pictures, participating in some of the most fruitful research, and, most subversive of all, managing to maintain an enviable dignity and integrity. But perhaps it is to the machinations of these people that Goethe refers when he wonders whether there exists in America "an adroit censorship to bar any advocacy of the desirability of conserving Nordic homogeneity."

It is possible to assure the eugenicist that such a censorship does exist in the form of well-weighted effort on the part of sociologists, geneticists, and anthropologists to ridicule any and all racial superiority myths of his, or some other, order. To date, this group has been successful, although Hitlerian repercussions are beginning to be manifest among those pseudo-scientists who feel the time has come to chose a race of supermen whose composite virtues will obscure any lack of brain.

But what of the submen who are to be excluded? It would be unkind to remember at this time the past successes of these dark-skinned breeds in civilization and the arts—while many of the fairer skin were still running with the wolves. Unfortunately Goethe contents himself with praising the Nordic. It remains for other ingenious men to reconcile the patent contradictions of man and superman.

Opposing Goethe's concept of eugenics and race superiority, Professor Earnest H. Hooton summarizes a dif-

ferent gospel in an article on "Plain Statements About Race" published in *Science*. Its salient points coincide with an authoritative body of opinion that leaves advocates of Nordic superiority little on which to pin their fantastic doctrines. Strangely enough, in this day of politico-eugenics, Hooton suggests that the mutable processes of nature have a larger influence on the making of man than have political parties, purity cults, and imperfect application of scientific knowledge. Inferentially Professor Hooton advises his fellows to accept evolution and abandon the notion that the contemporary image of the organism is the desired ultimate, whether entitled Nordic or Nonesuch.

Hooton acknowledges the fallacy of accepting physical variation as the basis of inferiority or superiority. With some regret he notes that in the past this contemptible subterfuge justified our European forbears in the bloody business of Negro enslavement and Indian annihilation. In those days primitive peoples were made to suffer the penalty of nature's evolutionary oversight.

On the question of race origin, Professor Hooton's composition also fails to corroborate the scientific findings of the eugenicist Hitler. "The composite origin of most of the existing races of man is demonstrable. Thus the Polynesian represents a stabilized blend of white, Negroid, and Mongoloid elements. The so-called Nordic race is probably a hybrid derivative of several strains present in Europe during the glacial period, to which have been added in historic times Alpine, Mongoloid, and other racial elements carried by the Lapps, Finns, Slavs, and other peoples who have mixed with the inhabitants of the Nordic area. . . .

"The scientific method of determining the racial composition of the United States or any other country is to appraise the distribution of type combinations of physical characters in the individual which are known to be hereditary racial features. The sorting of these types is initially made without reference to parentage or national origins of the person studied.

"Studies of these physical types in the old American populations, in the children of immigrants from other countries, and in residents of alien birth do not indicate that the racial composition of the United States has been profoundly modified by recent immigrations. Incoming types are virtually identical with those represented in the population resident here for several generations, although the proportions are somewhat modified.

"Each racial type runs the gamut from idiots and criminals to geniuses and statesmen. No type produces a majority of individuals from either end of the scale. While there may be specific racial abilities and disabilities, these have not yet been demonstrated. There are no racial monopolies either of human virtues or of vices."

It is in this last statement, concerning the tendency of all nationalities to arrogate to themselves the virtues and repudiate the vices of mankind, that Professor Hooton approaches the scientific middle ground. Unfortunately this monopolistic practice has recently become a national religion, despite the repeated denials of anthropologists, biologists, and eugenicists that there is a specific group ascendence among the civilized nations. Scientists, today, scrupulously separate race and nationality while recognizing a diffusive influence of both habit and heredity upon man's upward progress. The quarrels of the disciples of Lamark or Darwin are no longer partisan. Intelligent researchers intermingle the influence of environment

and heredity, finding ample use for both to cover the gaps in their imperfect knowledge.

Eugenicists agree upon the variable conditioning of man, and at once admit genuine proof of his inherent ability to transmit acquired and ingrained habits to succeeding generations. Not, of course, habit fully developed or capable of mature manifestation, without a pre-conditioning in a similar environment to that in which necessity and physical sub-normality or abnormality had first nurtured them. Man, the biologists say, is the sum of his ancestors and the victim of his environment. Few persons of rank quarrel with this definition, with the exception of Hitler. And if he propounds contrary views concerning the latent Nordic superiority, one has only to examine the practical application of these pronouncements in order to discover where the orator yields to the practical man. Young Germans, having been assured of their general inherent excellence are now being rigidly subjected to an environmental training calculated to transform an Australian Bushman into a model Nazi. But perhaps it is indicative of Nordic superiority that these Aryans can blindly accept the risks of mass conditioning without fear of the future. However, biologists predict that the unborn children of these Germans will learn with amusement that their forefathers once subjected themselves to such doctrines, since the processes of nature are somewhat more painstaking than Der Führer imagines—hereditary traits are inculcated into a race only after centuries of habit.

In his address President Goethe raised one final proof of the inferiority of other races to the Nordic. Citing an outbreak of the plague in Los Angeles he notes that it was confined to the Mexican quarter. He implies from the incident that this is evidence of Mexican inferiority. Thus, in company with many others, Goethe assumes that predisposition to specific disease is proof positive of undesirability and inferiority. Of course, he does not cite contributory causes that might outweigh bodily infirmity, such as slum housing, improper diet, insufficient knowledge, or medical neglect.

It is significant, however, to recognize that applied science is vulnerable to unscientific influence. In the future, eugenics will be suspect if it continues to justify ancestor worship and race prejudice to the detriment of genuine anthropological facts.



REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

DOWN TO EARTH

"Land and the people. These we must think of together, and in a national sense* we have definitely by now set our faces to the future; and it is a future which does not look too dark."**

BY REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

It is hard to get people to think of the land problem as one of adjustment rather than of simple retirement. They have heard of dust storms and floods and have been told that the removal of natural cover is the cause of these civilized disasters. It is all too easy to conclude that all land subject to blowing or easy run-off ought to go back to trees and grass. But this is an amateur's conclusion. It is too easy a solution. It is not only impractical, but unnecessary. For blowing can be stopped and floods lessened without the major disturbance in people's lives implied in such a program.

Adjustment involves careful analysis of the relation of different kinds of soil to the crops it will easily and harmlessly support, and the bringing of farm and grazing practices into harmony again with nature's requirements. It involves, also, not the depopulation of all hilly regions or a return of the entire Great Plains area to grass, but rather learning how to use hills and plains in ways to which nature has no objection.

In spite of the extent and variety of our country and of the obvious misuse of much of it, we probably know it in detail better than any country in the world is known. I mean we know it in the scientific sense. Nowhere has so much public effort gone into the study of agriculture. It is our practice that is bad. In industry we know how to make shoes, refrigerators, glass, and electricity superlatively well. But we do not practice nearly all we know. It is the same in agriculture. Perhaps five farmers in every rural county do their farming efficiently in the scientific sense. The other hundreds do it by rule of thumb. And nature doesn't like it. She carries their top soil off down the streams to silt up expensive dams, or she gathers it up on the wind to blanket growing crops many miles away. In both cases the loss to the dam and to the other fellow's crop has to be added to the loss from the devastated fields before the whole sum of damage can be known. So it becomes a social problem which we determine to do something about. But we should have a hard awakening if we attempted to do it by a *tour de force*. In many cases the cure is the simple home remedy of better agriculture. In others we face devastation and the need for reconstruction. The Soil Conservation Service has recently been brought up to reinforce the work for better farming; and the Resettlement Administration has been plunged into the careful work of adjustment. Both jobs are being done with one eye on

the welfare of the individuals who are threatened with disaster, and with the other on the social necessity for rapid reconstruction.

I do not know of any county in the United States where farming is now done which ought not to have any agriculture at all. It almost certainly needs to be adapted to the kind of social accounting ultimately we shall have to make—that is, no one ought to be allowed to farm in such ways that he costs the community more than he contributes. But if he intends to make a lifetime place of his farm or ranch, he can well afford to adopt better practices, or to move somewhere else to gain the security and opportunity he wants. If his place is so far gone that it needs to go back to grass and trees, he will not have to move far, either, unless he wants to. There are plenty of opportunities close at home. He may have to learn something new—how to use a wood-lot, how to strip-crop his hillsides, how to keep cover against the wind, how to terrace and contour plow, how to use a great variety of grasses and other plants he never heard of before. But he will have to do that whether he stays or moves. And above all he will have to learn to cooperate.

The straws in the wind which show that he will have to conform in some such respects as these are such State zoning acts as Wisconsin has, and such drastic protections as the Texas Wind Erosion Act. These are essentially neighborhood laws for mutual protection. The Federal Government with its Soil Conservation Service and Resettlement Administration merely follow along and attempt to help. The Soil Conservation Service by demonstration on a great many water-sheds is showing farmers how their agriculture can be secured against the losses of erosion and is extending this work into other areas by the formation of local conservation associations. The Resettlement Administration is offering as many farmers as its funds will permit, escape from their hopeless enterprises and new opportunity elsewhere. It therefore acquires worn-out land which it attempts to rehabilitate and put to some use other than arable agriculture; and it acquires good land on which resettlement is possible.

Up until 1935 we had, in the United States, three well-defined policies, all of which are now undergoing fundamental change. The first was homesteading on the public domain; the second was bringing new land into cultivation by reclamation; the third was the increase of productivity on the family farm. Into all of these, public funds and the combined efforts of local, State, and Federal governments have flowed freely.

Homesteading

Homesteading was the natural policy for an empty continent. Only by the filling up of open spaces could American culture spread itself into every corner of the country. But this was not the reason for it, though it serves as excuse when we look back. The reason was that money could be made in land speculation. And the ancestors of many of us were involved in the game. There is a long and disreputable story involved in the history of the land companies which tempted novices across the Alleghenies, into the prairie country, and finally out to the Pacific Coast. Many an easy dollar was made in this way by those who never had, or expected to have, any stake in the land themselves. They were blood-brothers to the mining-town gamblers, for instance, and they still survive in furtive and less spectacular operations carried out in the odd corners still left for that kind of

thing. The memory of the boom on the lower Rio Grande and in Florida must still be very much alive in the minds of many recently-sheared sheep.

But apart from this, land speculation grew pretty tightly into the fabric of American life in other ways. So long as there was empty country in the West which was, or could be, made to seem productive, the customary thing was for the younger sons of Eastern farm-families to occupy it, use it for twenty years, then sell it and retire on the proceeds. The steady, century-long rise in values gave this process a look of permanence; and we came to think of it as a regular feature of life.

The country did fill up eventually, however, and the droughts inevitable in a land of little rain did come. Furthermore, the markets failed in time of depression, and terrible disasters came to those little people who had speculated not only with their small grub-stakes but with the future of their families as well. The lands to be had in recent decades for free entry naturally have been the most risky to develop. And added to depression recently we have had the worst drought in our written history. Homesteading had become a doubtful policy by the turn of the century, but it took three decades for the lesson to sink in. Finally in 1935 the remaining lands of the Public Domain were withdrawn from entry; and the Grazing Act was devised to control the use of the grass-lands of the plains. Homesteading had run its course and come to an inglorious end.

Reclamation

The approach to the farming problems of the Great Plains, particularly, came many years ago to be through the door of reclamation. Irrigation could supplement the ranges with watered alfalfa and make certain other crops available as well. Since the funds required were large, it came to be a function of government. As the event proved, not all the projects were wise in the sense of self-liquidation. And they have caused a good deal of unrest in the corn belt which resented what was called Government-subsidized competition. The organized farm groups have pretty generally opposed them. Yet they have provided valuable experience against the day when we shall need a more intensive and high-capitalized agriculture. Large-scale irrigation and drainage are highly technical, and by now there exists a considerable body of engineers and others who know its problems from long experience.

In spite of corn-belt opposition, it seems unlikely that reclamation works will be stopped. There are still possibilities too obvious to be overlooked, the most immediate and extensive of which are the lands which lie below the Grand Coulee dam. There is a conflict here which has tormented every administration for the past thirty years. The dry West has pressed for more irrigation; and the Midwest has opposed it. A whole literature of defense and recrimination has grown up about it. In this Administration the problem became so acute last year that the President formulated a compromise which seems rational enough, and which may serve to still the louder voices if it continues to be effective. "We shall," the President said, in effect, "continue to bring new land into cultivation; but only to the extent that land of equal productive power is removed from agricultural uses." And to balance reclamation grants from emergency funds, he allocated others to the Resettlement Administration for the purchase and retirement of land now in agricultural use, but so worn as to provide poor livings for the farmers on it. That policy is still in effect, but it should be

noticed that this was only an executive compromise, and was only adopted for the distribution of emergency funds. It still awaits legislative recognition.

Increasing Productivity

Perhaps even more important than these policies, and certainly as well defined, has been that of increasing the productivity of the American family farm. This has been partly the effort to make "two blades of grass grow where one grew before," but only partly that. Most significant has been the making of more blades of grass to grow for one farmer. We have not increased production per acre nearly as fast as we have increased production per worker. We have learned a good deal, through subsidized research, about new crops, different rotations, better fertilizers, the control of pests, and the adaptation of plants to their soil. But we have also invented the tractor, the combine, new types of plows, listers, harrows, cultivators, and seeders. We have mechanized the dairy, quit pitching hay, bred up our livestock and given them balanced rations. And in the processing of farm products we have evolved a unique factory system.

All this has been done by Government aid—for research, for experiment, for education, and for extension work. No effort of a like sort ever got its results quicker or was more difficult to handle once the results arrived. For by it we have jeopardized the traditional family farm which is the only form of agricultural organization with which we feel secure. That unit is rapidly, in many parts of the country, becoming less efficient than other kinds of organization—the factory farm and the chain farm, both of which have the advantages of efficient management and of sufficient size to reduce the terrific burden of overhead which is the curse of the capitalized farm.

This illustrates the dilemma which progress—or perhaps I should say change—always creates. It begins as one thing and ends up as quite another, creating problems of adjustment—usually unforseen, and therefore difficult. Most of the difficulty lies in the fact that our minds have not been prepared to recognize new facts and the necessity for new accommodations. Most of our agricultural leaders talk confidently and solemnly about the family farm today—just as though nothing had happened to make it insecure. But the statistics of tenancy, foreclosure, the spread of chain management, and large-scale farming are there for anyone to see. And all of it has come out of the educational process we have paid for with Government funds and worked unceasingly to achieve.

These policies are at the present time undergoing critical examination. We have reached a period of crisis brought about by the revolt of nature, by technological change, and by our unwillingness to face the consequences of our own acts. One good way, always, to face the future is to make an attempt to define what it is we want, even if that definition can only be tentative. With respect to our land, this seems not too difficult if we are willing to face the facts honestly and see what they imply. In general we should all agree that we ought to pass on to future generations a land which is better than the one our fathers passed on to us. That this is not likely to be the case unless we devise and pursue some new courses, is all too clear.

But this is too general an objective to be of much help. Controversy arises over jurisdictional questions for one thing—whose responsibility is it to protect this heritage? And is it to be achieved by single ownership of small farms? Can it be arrived at by cooperative endeavors? Or shall we encour-

age the drift toward concentrated ownership and the spread of tenancy or even of day labor, reproducing on the land the typical relationships of industry?

In order to get hold of these vast controversial problems, I find it useful to try to penetrate our universal sympathies. I have mentioned one—the feeling of responsibility for the improvement of our land resources. There is another. This is a certain sympathy for the desire of the farmer to be secure. There is no doubt that either as owner or tenant he is very insecure at present. Yet out of the satisfying of these fundamental feelings we may be able to arrive at policies which are acceptable.

To get both improvement and security it is necessary for the farmer to know that the product he produces will be used and that for producing it, he can be paid a fair value. This at once links up agriculture with the whole economic system. The farmer cannot expect to be any more secure in that system than others are; and he is therefore dependent on stability and security everywhere. Until all of us are insured against loss through change, through outside manipulation of speculation, neither can the farmer. Thus that is a problem which cannot even be discussed, except in passing, by one who confines himself to agricultural policies. But within agriculture itself, certain fortifications are possible. It can be made certain that land is being put to its destined uses; it can be made certain that our system of tenure, as well as of cultivation, is one which provides security of possession, and of efficiency with modern technique. Furthermore, we can attempt to keep our productive plans "in balance", as Secretary Wallace says, with the demands of the market.

This last was, of course, the great advantage of the original Agricultural Adjustment Administration, which was declared unconstitutional. The new act is even better, in some ways, than the old one, but it does not carry the forthright influence on this balance which the old one did and no certain way seems open to do that under the dictum of the Court. Its new features, however, do lend themselves well to the objective of improvement. Our country will be bettered by its operations. Yet if we have normal weather and a recurrence of uncontrolled surpluses with a consequent depression in farm prices relative to those of industrial goods, the situation of American farmers will revert again to what it was during the 'twenties. This situation is one calculated to give concern to everyone interested in farm life; but it is one, also, to which the solution is at present obscure.

We seem committed, as the major feature of our agricultural policy in the immediate future, to the objectives of improvement of the land and greater security for those on it. Lacking any good insurance for farm prosperity we can still make advances in these ways. And this is the contribution to be made by such activities as the Grazing Service, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Farm Credit Administration, the Soil Conservation Service and the Resettlement Administration. There are uses for land which do not come in the ordinary classification of agriculture, but which are still much wanted by any developed country. They can and will also support a considerable number of families in pleasant and profitable occupations. One of these is recreation. City and country people alike enjoy hunting, fishing, and camping; and the automobile has brought picnics and open-air parties into high favor. The National Park Service, the Forest Service, and

now the Resettlement Administration, are developing these resources as they have never before been developed. With the Resettlement Administration the provision of recreation is not the first objective. The desire is rather to retire unprofitable lands from agricultural uses. But it has been found that much land, particularly in the East, which is hopeless for farming, can be used for these other purposes with greater social values. And if it is taken care of for these uses, it requires almost as much labor. It is a different sort, of course, and requires an approach with which we are not so familiar, but it is a resource for living and enjoyment having vast possibilities.

There are others. The Forest Service has struggled for years to induce private lumber operators to establish sustained yield practices. But the whole social and economic set-up has been against it. Lumber companies were highly capitalized, and to get sustained yields, plantings have to be made for years and decades ahead. Few concerns would do it. Yet there now seems a possibility that with the extension of public ownership of timber lands, this sustained yield can be achieved over large areas. The Government can afford to look far into the future. And it can use such areas, not only for timber production, but for the raising of game and for recreation as well. On this multiple-use basis a very sensible program can be worked out for large areas which are not now in forests, but which ought to be. And the people residing there can be given a better living at this kind of development than in farming.

European countries have been ahead of us in these matters for obvious reasons. Their land was more crowded, their agriculture more intensive, their timber areas more restricted. But we are at the point of learning the lesson for ourselves, and it promises to give us better occupations for many low-standard farmers, as well as some unexpected resources.

We do not have to go on thinking of land as useful only for cultivated crops, or of rural people as having open to them only these restricted occupations. Yet the main concern of agricultural policy will continue to center there, and resettlement activities will continue to center on improving the incomes of these people. The Resettlement Administration finds that the percentage of annual retirement of farmers from age or other reasons, as well as the drift of farmers into other occupations, provides sufficient good land, formerly in cultivation and capable of remaining there, to take care of all those it can hope to give new opportunities.

There is no doubt that if we continue to improve our productivity as we have in the past, fewer farmers will suffice to supply any likely demand. Resettlement, therefore, has a legitimate interest in the development of part-time farms and suburban towns, thus linking up agriculture and industry and providing a more orderly pattern for the inevitable movement from farm to city. It can do only a little in any of these fields, of course, because of the limitation of funds, but it can provide those practical demonstrations which are better than books for argument.

Land and the people. These we must think of together and in a national sense. We are only beginning to emerge from the pioneer stage and think of permanent relationships. Discussion and trial will go on for some time before we reach conclusions. But we have definitely by now set our faces toward the future; and it is a future which does not look too dark.

Europe's war bogey—what it looks like, what it is, what it may become.

FEAR *across the* BORDERS

BY COUNT CARLO SFORZA

WHY, after the Treaty of Versailles, did we hesitate so long, grope so timorously, before we had the courage to feel and assert that we must at last create Europe? I believe it was due to the nature of the treaty itself. By defining this nature, we shall come very close to the judgment history will pass one day on this famous document.

The Versailles Treaty can only be compared—and the comparison constitutes its best definition—to a bronze statue cast by two teams of workers, working simultaneously but independent of each other, and each one determined to throw quite different materials into the melting—both teams being agreed on one point only: that they must get done quickly. The contradictions, the antitheses of the treaty explain a good many post-war hesitancies, beginning with those of the Supreme Councils of 1920 and 1921, at which I often had to adhere to errors I knew to be such, and at the same time admit that these errors were unavoidable. A wholly Wilsonian peace, or a wholly hegemonic kind of peace—each would have produced sooner, more immediate reactions and crystallizations.

But we should not, after all, be over-much surprised at the long duration of the crisis our generation is at once guilty of, and victim to. The World War was a revolution, and revolutions are long. That of England lasted half a century. That of France—the greatest adventure of the history of our last generations—began in 1789; and one may well say that, with the armistices of two Bonapartistic dictatorships and one and a half restorations, it ended only in 1876, when MacMahon surrendered to the will of the electors. One can even say that the political transformation of Italy—initiated in the eighteenth century by a group of thinkers and statesmen — continued through the fitful years of Bonaparte and afterwards resumed by the men of the Risorgimento and their heirs until Giolitti—is not yet fulfilled. Its fits since the fascist *coup d'etat* are only a proof of this.

If the political and social transformations of countries which have for centuries constituted complete organisms, are slow, it is not at all strange that Europe should be so long in finding herself.

The nationalism that saw the light of day towards the end of the nineteenth century has the manner and

some of the traits of a religious movement. There is this difference, however: the stronger the religious movements, the more frontiers they crossed. Buddhism gathered to its bosom Tibetans, Chinese, Japanese, more different from each other than an Arab from a Swede. Mohammedanism included in a common faith and common rites the most miscellaneous peoples, from the Chinese of Turkestan to the Moors of Morocco. Christianity spoke to a hundred peoples speaking a hundred languages, its universal *pax hominibus*.

The European nationalisms of the twentieth century, in their religious aspect, thus link up with the remotest and most childish concepts of the tribes of old, each of which considered itself a chosen people.

Yet not one of the old "chosen" people was saved, and nationalism also is beginning to see its doom on the horizon. Conceived to reinforce the State, it ends by weakening it wherever it has succeeded in getting the upper hand—the upper hand in the world of ideas at least. In Italy, it has already awakened feelings of hatred amongst the German—and Slav-speaking Italian citizens, whereas the conciliatory policy of the democratic governments had done a great deal between 1919 and 1922, toward creating an atmosphere of understanding.

A day will come when we—all of us whom the nationalist inquisition has charged with internationalist heresy—shall have to defend the idea of nationality, and all its fruitful and wealthy implications, against the wave that will want to drown it in reaction to the crimes and insanities perpetrated by nationalisms.

We should not forget that when Metternich cried out in Vienna: "There is only one question left in Europe, the Revolution," he was really thinking of the national claims. The Austrian Chancellor had realized that the countries freed from all alien yoke were destined to become democratic. For Metternich, an Italy enslaved and portioned out, a Germany without union or rights, and a Poland despairing of resurrection, were so many certainties that the spirit of the Revolution would not wake up again.

But—and it is always thus—a principle, an idea (a myth, if one likes) render, at a given moment, a radical service to the cause of human progress; so radical that situations alter and with them, the myth should alter, too. If the idea evolved, it would continue to live; but most often it remains set in its past glory; and people continue to bow to it until they perceive it has remained a lifeless formula. The petty violence of nationalisms has almost made us forget that the most clear-sighted apostles of the idea of nationality in the nineteenth century never considered the nations as an end in themselves. In the thick of his struggles for the unification of Italy, Mazzini never ceased to aver that nationalities were only a halt on the way to European union.

Although they do not actually reject these precepts, the élites today show, in practice, a natural, but dangerous, hesitation—natural, because certain tendencies towards the didactic German formula of an all-powerful *Superstaat* justify fear; dangerous, because either union must be achieved by the democracies, or we shall slide back to anarchy or fall under dominations excluding national equalities.

England, with a political sense which only centuries of freedom can develop, has understood this clearly. Under the myth of the Crown, which maintains to the Island the appearances of a metropolis, the British Empire is now exclusively made up of domin-

ions, all equally free. As an anticipation of the international era, let us call to mind that the French Canadians have steadily risen in numbers and prestige while they have, at the same time, become citizens, more and more loyal, of the British Commonwealth.

The nations which will lack England's courage may imagine they serve the fatherland ideal. In reality they are merely looking back like Lot's wife; and, like Lot's wife, they risk coming to a dead standstill.

If the national states continue to shirk and ignore their new duties, the rising generations will recover from the nationalist intoxication, only to recoil from them. And this not in order to enlist in communism, the scarecrow which conservatives brandish so gladly. Indeed it is just as difficult for socialism to become a message of hope for these rising generations; at least as long as it is content to defend the interests of a class instead of aiming at delivering and lifting all classes, all nations.

The danger is far more serious than all the bogeys used for "right-thinking" people. It really lies in a despondent collapse into intellectual and moral torpor, which a life without issue might bring about. That is, after all, what is happening in Germany where the people, stunned, watch the gestures of the demagogues in power and let things slide.

Disasters of this kind have occurred before now: the *pax romana* was not destroyed by the advent of a few hordes of barbarians; it collapsed because all hope had died out, and all faith.

But there is no reason to despair. In spite of Nazi and Fascist appearances, the feeling of human solidarity which we should learn to combine with national loyalty, is already far deeper in Europe than one might think. I shall go even further: No one in Europe, save a few crazy brains, believes in war any more; in the advantages of war, I mean. And if so many groups have taken on a bellicose air, it is mere sham for reasons of home-politics, or defense of caste interests. And even those groups hate war; they would very much like to talk about it all the time, and never make it. There is the French bourgeoisie, for instance; in spite of its *Action Française*, in spite of its *Croix de Feu*, it is not at all keen on war. In fact, it has as great a horror of it as have the Socialists, whom it hates. It trembles at the thought that its children might rot in trenches. It has not the slightest desire to see taxes rise tenfold. But the French with their big bank-account, think the fear of war, the idea of war, constitutes for *le peuple* a sort of potential lesson in favour of hierarchy, of authority, of discipline—something like what M. de Voltaire used to think when he wished for "some religion for the under-dog."

The same holds good for Germany, for Italy, even for Russia. A certain danger of war seems, to the powers that be, an additional excuse for the hardness and the extension of their control over the whole life of the nation.

❖ ❖ ❖

When the hegemony and the privileges of the upper and middle classes were accepted by the *plebs* as a law of nature—that is, in the first half of the nineteenth century—nothing was more unpopular with the rich in Europe than war, or policies conducive to war. In France, under the Restoration and under the Monarchy of Louis-Phillippe, the bourgeoisie always strove against any danger of war; [illegible] only carried off his expedition to Spain against the almost

universal opinion of the country; when Napoleon III, urged on by the oath he had taken as a young Italian *carbonaro*, and by the future of glory and power Cavour had dangled before him, entered in 1859 on his campaign in Lombardy, he had almost the whole French bourgeoisie against him.

It was only when the twentieth century brought out in the masses a spirit of social emancipation, coupled with that of internationalism, that the upper classes, all, everywhere, became warlike in appearance. This enabled them to say, from Paris to Tokyo, from Rome to Berlin: "Social reforms? Perhaps. But first we must save our country, threatened, encircled; we must bend to a supreme national need." A man who really wanted war, and not only the fear of war as our good bourgeoisie does, knew what he was about when he said: "Poverty is the school of the good soldier."

But besides the selfish motives of caste which drive so many good people, who have at heart become very peace-loving, to put on "a war face", as in China of the old Empire, there are (a novel and admirable fact) millions of Europeans who have cast aside all computation of caste interest and entertain an ever-increasing horror of the idea of war. Their strength was seen in 1932 when Paris, like London and New York, like Brussels, had to own that the League of Nations—then the victim of a series of errors, all due to lack of living faith in its leaders and especially in the then leader of British diplomacy, Sir John Simon—was powerless before the Japanese invasion of the three Manchu provinces of China, and even before the bloodshed in the South, at Shanghai. This quasi-religious force was measured again in 1936; even Hitler, when he speaks to the Germans, is bound to emphasize his love, their love of peace. His speeches may be dangerous, but how different from the "dry powder" tirades of a William II. Hitler knows that the horror of war is still very deep among the Germans.

Even if there are wars and dangers of wars, the history of Europe, and especially that of the Mediterranean basin, cradle of world civilization, gives us numerous examples of sudden readjustments. It took but a few generations to impose the Christian idea on the peoples of Western Europe and give them the feeling of common ties which they had lost with the fall of the Roman Empire.

Miracles like these only occur after periods of social anarchy. And if by social anarchy is meant the lack of a superior common law for states as well as for individuals, then social anarchy prevails to-day. What apparent order there is to-day—where there is any—is of the kind which prevails amongst galley-slaves, who, riveted to the seat, ply their oars, knowing all the time that each stroke brings them nearer to boarding and their appointed death.

—explaining our new
trade treaty program

MR. HULL *Sees It Through*

BY CHARLES HODGES

WHILE we watched diplomacy backstage choking the life out of the World Economic Conference at London, we wagered on the future of the one confident man in Claridge's.

The odds piling up against him in that famous London hotel, with each enigmatic swing of the Roosevelt Administration across the Atlantic in those dramatic American summer days of 1933, seemed literally to be blotting out his political existence. Tongues buzzed in the hotel lobby.

"He's being sold out to domestic politics—."

"Scuttling currency stabilization wrecks his hopes here—."

"He can't last long now, with the Administration dropping this international stuff of his like a hot potato . . . ."

On the floor above, Secretary of State Hull seemed oblivious of his personal tragedy. He was telling us in his quiet way that the world's economic ills were far from incurable.

"Every government has been trying, and will try, every local program that promises relief from the untold suffering which has followed the breakdown of the structure of international business," he reassured us in the delegation's press room.

One could see a contracting web of world trade as the background for his picture of business break-down. Its strangulation of the commerce of the nations, proceeding at an alarming rate, was wiping out the progress of a generation. The sickening dive of international commerce from its 1929 peak had destroyed almost two thirds of the value of world business; it had sunk to the approximate level of trade as far back as the year 1905!

". . . Inevitably, they will keep on trying both good and bad measures," this crusader for saner economic relations between business systems noted without malice. "The good domestic measures will be clung to, while the bad will be discarded."

Again it seemed as if Mr. Hull, all his life a foe of government obstruction to international trade, fully realized the period of trial and error through which the nations were destined to pass in the ensuing eighteen months.

". . . There must be a sound domestic program in each country," he went on. "At the same time, we must have universal agreement on certain international economic conditions which require concerted international action."

Mr. Hull was given a consolation prize in the collapse of the economic conference through the sabotage of rampant nationalism. The resolutions-mill over at the new Geologic Hall of the South Kensington Institute—sin-

gularly appropriate as a setting for the burial of the world's economic hopes in the débris of diplomacy abroad and politics at home—ground out Hull's principles with a prim preamble of pious wishes and nicely bracketed paragraphs marked "(a)", "(b)", and "(c)."

Foreign offices promptly filed them with their archives. But Mr. Hull went home with them, spread them on the glass top of his massive mahogany desk for future reference—and with equal promptness looked at a map. Now most statesmen, when they look at maps, do so in order to assure themselves that the world is precisely the same as it was yesterday. Mr. Hull, however, has another idea. He shares with the Germans the conviction that a map is a blue-print of opportunities for statesmanship; but world prosperity, not national aggrandizement, attracts his eye.

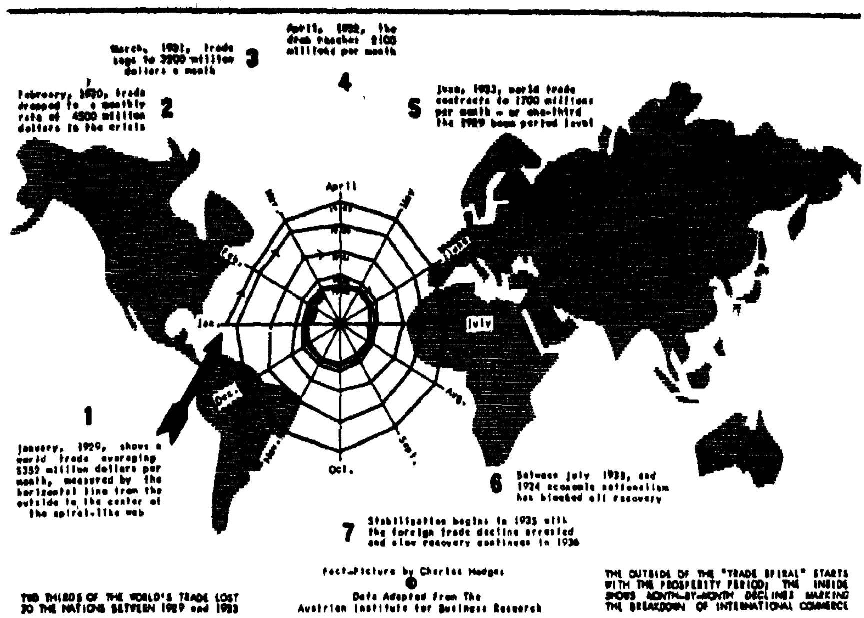
The particular map that came to the mind's eye of the Secretary of State was not a map of the world; it was a map of the New World this time.

He saw Montevideo, the meeting-place of the Seventh International Conference of American States, as the strategic spot for a new move. The capital of the South American republic of Uruguay became a platform from which he could press his views once again on the slowing down of international trade and the speeding up of human misery. Once more, he put the United States and our sister American republics on record as seeking what we will call "easier trade", rather than that bogey of super-protectionists termed "free trade." The twenty-one governments of the New World declared they would promptly take steps "to promote trade among their respective peoples and other nations and to reduce high trade barriers through the negotiation of comprehensive bilateral reciprocity treaties based upon mutual concessions."

Good Neighbor's Test

Promptly the cynics wrote this down as just another international declaration of good intentions which showed how far from reality a sincere man could get with mistaken ideas as to the kind of world in which he was living. Nevertheless, when Mr. Hull returned to Washington from the December 1933 sessions, he got our Government into action. By the early part of 1934 he had turned the spotlight of our diplomacy upon trade relations with Canada. Here he proposed to make a concrete test of the "good neighbor" policy of President Roosevelt. To consummate Mr. Hull's statesmanship, however, it was obviously necessary to obtain from Congress greater bargaining power than the Roosevelt Administration possessed through the cumbersome Tariff Commission process of altering a specific duty by purely one-sided American action.

The Trade Agreements Act of June 12, 1934, was designed to give the State Department the flexibility it needed to get real results from negotiations with foreign governments. The law conferred upon the President the power to enter into trade arrangements, subject to adequate safeguards with foreign countries. It was designed to break down the now towering walls of short-sighted economic nationalism. Thus, the Trade Agreements Act initiated the final phase of Secretary of State Hull's long drive toward world recovery through sound international economic policies. Speaking of this stalemate in world trade, he remarked not so long ago: "It was largely created by the raising of trade barriers to insurmountable heights. It will be correspondingly dissipated by skilful, patient negotiations to reduce



THE WORLD-WIDE WEB OF ECONOMIC COLLAPSE

some of those barriers to levels at which mutually advantageous trade can be resumed."

Fact-Finding Machinery

This delicate task of negotiation brought into play all the resources of the State Department in the economic sphere and linked them with nearly two dozen other agencies of the Government. So far as I know, not even the World War produced so intimate a collaboration over such extensive ranges of administrative activity. Room was made in the old-fashioned building, significantly just across the street from the White House, to accommodate the new addition to Mr. Hull's diplomatic family; for the old machinery of the Trade Adviser's Office was inadequate. From these colonnaded porticos, resembling an architectural wedding-cake with its series of candy-like columns on its battleship gray façades, lines of cooperation have been run out to the other departments and commissions. Well to the fore, the Tariff Commission itself supplies the fact-finding machinery so important in getting the international economic angle. Flanking it, the Department of Commerce, through its tremendous Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, presents an unrivaled commercial intelligence service. Equally concerned are the Treasury and the Department of Agriculture in the upshot of the program, for revenue and the farm problem figure large in the current situation. The War, Navy, Interior, and Labor Departments from time to time have to be consulted. Besides, the New Deal agencies, alphabetical and otherwise, have dovetailed into the set-up—the AAA, the Petroleum Administrative Board, the National Resources Board, etc.

The results, to put it modestly (and

the State Department always likes to have you put it modestly), are uniquely comprehensive from the standpoint of knowledge assembled about our trade with any of the countries under negotiation—and their own trade, where it has even the most indirect bearing upon American business.

"Sometimes the people with whom we have been negotiating were surprised over the thoroughness of our preparation," one of my friends in the Department remarked with a reminiscent smile as I admired the dozen-or-so volumes behind a certain trade pact. "There were occasions when we knew more about a country's foreign commerce than they did themselves!"

Take, for example, the Belgian trade pact. Behind the Department of State, which constitutionally has exclusive control over the conduct of American foreign relations, stand fifteen volumes of data. They represent the cooperation of four departments in this particular case, plus the indispensable Tariff Commission, the NRA, and, I suppose one can say, the Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Foreign Trade, under the direction of the ubiquitous Mr Peek. From the standpoint of the whole foreign policy of the United States, the Interdepartmental Executive Committee for Coordinating Commercial Policy, pulls these agencies together. While public hearings, announced long in advance by the Committee for Reciprocity Information, give an opportunity for statements, oral testimony, and arguments from business, labor, agriculture, and the general public, detailed study is made of this and all other available information by the all-important Committee on Trade Agreements. Through the latter's own Committee on Surveys and Studies, the search for facts goes on by sub-groups. "Country committees" cover each foreign nation in general; "commodity committees" follow the world-wide trail of every great staple of commerce; and "special committees" have arisen for such thorny topics as the depression-born use generally of strictly controlled quotas for trade abroad, the parceling out of exchange to manipulate commercial currents, and so forth.

It is not surprising that the job for each country has been a thorough one. The fifteen volumes for Belgium therefore gave State Department negotiators the factual weapons essential to deal with the Belgian mission sent here. One volume was necessary to handle the material growing out of the hearings scheduled by the Committee for Reciprocity Information. Another summarized the concessions which were acceptable to the United States as a basis for negotiations; while two others set forth the concessions that we sought from Belgium, together with supporting facts. Still another was required to cover the concessions we could not make to the Belgians, with the reasons for our stand. The remaining eight represented not only findings on every commodity under discussion; problems bearing upon main lines of negotiation, such as import quotas, treatment of American trade, foreign exchange complications, etc., also help these black binders.

Yardstick

What has been the success of the State Department, as the custodian of our foreign relations, in establishing these freer channels of commerce?

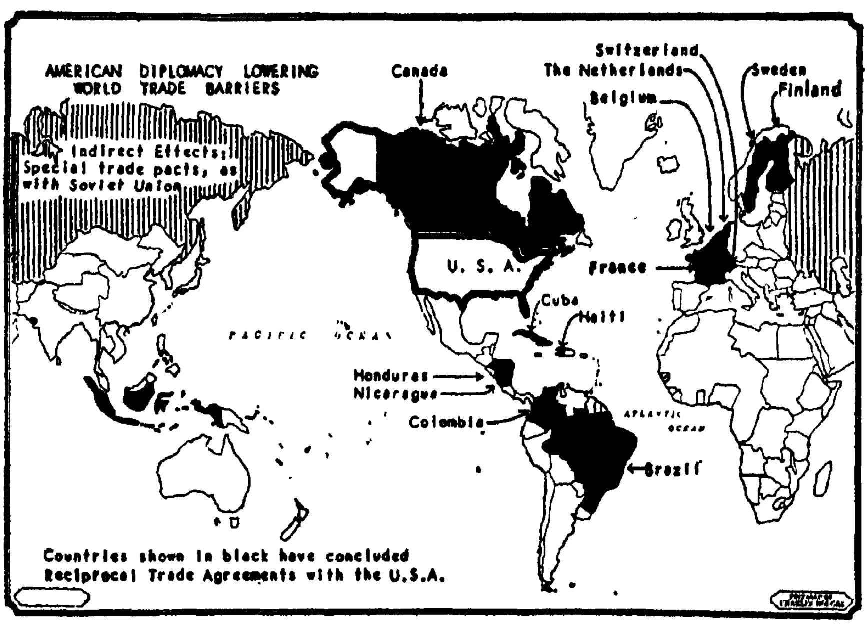
Just over one third of our foreign trade—imports and exports—is affected today by trade reciprocity arrangements. The fourteen countries with which we have negotiated successful agreements constitute an important break in the protectionist front under Mr. Hull's attack. They affect just under 33% of all our exports, at 1935

levels, and cover 38% of our total imports. Comprising strategic areas in both the New and the Old Worlds, these countries, as we shall see, become connecting links in a lengthening chain of easier trade relations which involve other nations, not direct parties to the specific negotiations. The Reciprocity Information Committee, with its mandatory public hearings prior to any negotiation, has held sessions on two other countries, Spain and Italy. These nations represent another 4% of American trade, to which, it is hoped, Britain will be added, with its 14% more of "two-way" trade with the United States. Thus, if all these nations can be persuaded to fall in line, roughly 54% of our total commerce will become subject to Mr. Hull's "thawing out" process.

That mythical American, cherished by editors and catered to by statisticians, the typical "man in the street", may not even be aware of these complicated maneuvers Others, much more of the flesh and with very concrete material interests, know the meaning of the Hull program. Only a minority of these has been fighting the trade agreements—sometimes in the open, but more often with guerrilla tactics from behind the cover of half-informed and misinformed public opinion, whipped up to serve petty sectional or private purposes.

Business Hopes

The statement that "at 12:45 today there was signed in the office of the Secretary of State a reciprocal trade agreement between the United States and . . ." has come to mark business hopes rather than business fears. While no statistical appraisal is possible as yet, specific short-range cases, such as that of revived Cuban trade, indicate that "exporting" this part of the New Deal has helped our agriculture, commerce, industry, and finance, and contributed to world recovery as a whole, and, in the Cuban instance,



stimulated the economic recovery of that country. These direct and indirect benefits, both material and psychological, grow out of a much misunderstood but vital aspect of the American economic diplomacy. Mr. Hull and his associates are not engaged in garnering for American trade exclusive preferential privileges, nor are our concessions to foreign countries monopolized by those who sign agreements with us. Just as changing conditions have required that we abandon the old, ironclad tariffs made single-handed by Congress, so the United States now seeks to spread the advantages gained on both sides of the deal without haggling. There is only one proviso: that other nations do not discriminate against our business.

Diplomatic Profiteering

"We want to open up the choked channels of trade," one of my informants in the State Department explained. "The further we can extend the benefits of any pact, the more business there will be for everyone. The only thing to guard against is that some third country may try to take the benefits of one of these agreements between us and another state without equally contributing to the relaxation of its own trade restrictions."

That is why President Roosevelt earlier this year, when proclaiming the Netherlands trade pact, found "as a fact that the treatment of American commerce by Germany is discriminatory. . . ." He thereby specifically denied to German products the benefits that they might have enjoyed by the "generalization" of the new agreement. Those fostering the liberalization of our trade relations therefore may be relied upon to prevent just this sort of diplomatic "profiteering." Neither our own interests nor those of countries joined with us in the trade pacts, which in reality only express the inseparable connection between national and international recovery in the capitalistic world, need fear competitors who do not play the game.

Likewise, apprehensions of a different sort already have proved groundless through the application of the Hull technique to trade relations. For example, desperate opponents of the Canadian arrangement warned that the concessions to our northern neighbor would become open doors through which other countries would pour their products upon us.

"The fact is," Henry F. Grady, retiring head of the State Department's Division of Trade Agreements, pointed out, "that in 1930 Canada sent us, roughly, 94% of our total imports on all products on which reductions are made in this agreement, and all other countries combined only 6%!"

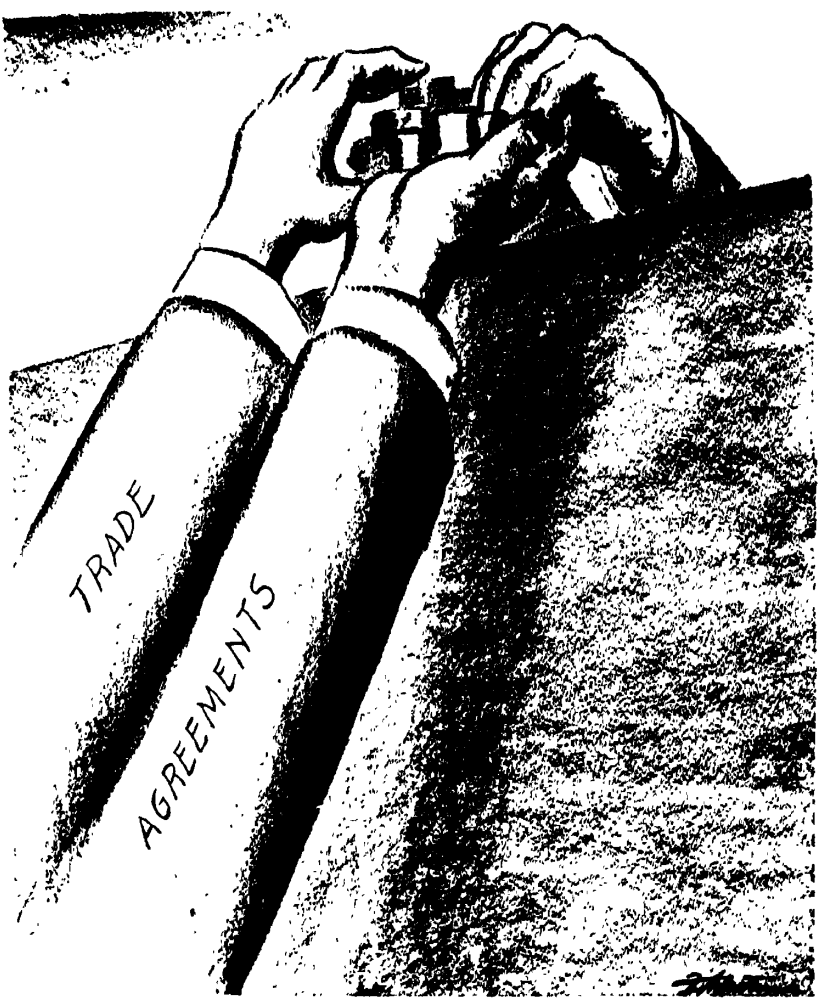
Again, if every country can get the benefits of these pacts, critics have complained, why should any nation bother to make an arrangement with us? The answer is simple. Each country seeks from us concessions on the products in which it is most interested; equality of access to a market such as ours, not a preferential position, is the goal of the new economic diplomacy. Moreover, if other countries also derive benefits from any particular agreement, the nation making that agreement knows there will be concessions in which it will share by a similar process regarding all other pacts. Because there are no exclusive privileges to be jealously bargained for, there is a constant broadening out of these "easier trade" conditions.

Here is the main objective of Secretary of State Hull. Surveying a map of the world once again, he might well say: "The United States has pointed the way to a truce between nations in the tariff war; we must now try to end

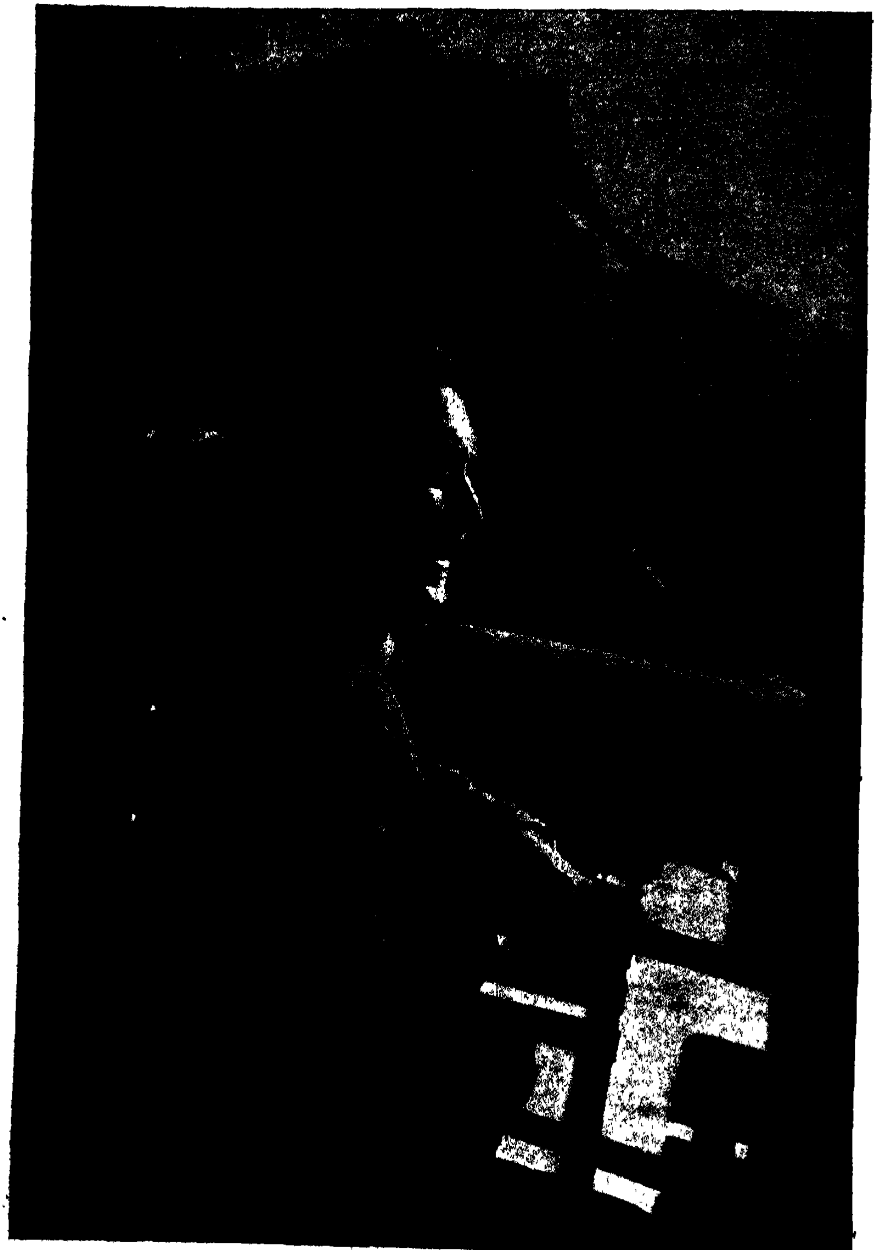
hostilities in the money war; then we can look for an economic armistice—and stabilization."

When unfair business attacks are made by other nations upon American business, however, it is another story to Mr. Hull. The Administration's hand of commercial friendship can change into a protective fist of fighting economic diplomacy, as the recent blunt warning directed at Australia, Brazil, Japan, and several other countries shows. Thus the map of world trade has its trouble spots for the State Department—trouble spots which threaten Mr. Hull's economic statesmanship.

The answer, however, lies outside the United States. Not only the business cycle in the economic world, but also the European crisis in the political world, hold the key to peace and war of every kind in our generation.



HANDS ACROSS THE TARIFF WALLS



ADOLPH HITLER: A "different" pose

HOLIDAY *with* HITLER

A personal friend tells of a personal visit with Der Führer—with a minimum of personal bias . . . .

By IGNATIUS PHAYRE

I COULD hardly believe my eyes as Otto Bauer, Der Führer's personal pilot, swooped into a perfect landing just below the chalet, and I saw the familiar figure approaching me . . .

At that moment, my mind flashed back. I was in that roaring assembly-hall at Frankfurt, after the Rhineland coup had thrilled a panicky France and hurried her armies into new war-harness, both above ground and below. My eyes were again fixed on the long scarlet streamer on a balcony which said in huge black letters: *Mit Adolf Hitler Steht Und Fallt Europa!* ("With Adolf Hitler Europe Must Stand or Fall!")

Next, I was in the House of Commons Gallery, where Stanley Baldwin assured the whole British Empire that "today the Dictator of Germany has it in his power to do more than any man alive to lift this black shadow of fear from Europe . . ." But was it really such omnipotence as this that hurried towards me with the same springy gait I knew so well, with that hearty smile of welcome, and a chubby hand raised in *the* salute? It seemed incredible.

Bareheaded, and with the unruly "browlock" broken loose, Hitler might have been a hired gardener. Clad in an old tweed coat, tightly buttoned and too short for him, and shabby trousers that did not match, he was waving a crooked stick wrenched from a cherry-tree—for Hitler must carry *something*, even on his woodland hikes and hermit picnics in these lonely hills.

Hitler had aged a good deal, I thought, during the past year. He had grown thicker in girth, and showed signs of strain about the eyes and mouth.

"The pace has been hot," he owned. And then, with the wistful air of a man unsure of the task he has set himself, "Mind you, I don't feel so young as I did!"

Yet, standing there in the summer's blaze, he looked very alert; no huskiness in his voice, and an almost boyish air of joyous expectation. While he dwelt on the "world airport", which the capital would have in a couple of years, I stood gazing up and down (especially down) at Alpine scenes of beauty. These mountains were not Swiss, which can be hard and cold; nor Italian, which may be too soft; nor yet of the French Savoy. They have sharp contours, and the roll and rumble of the avalanche is frequent.

The Austro-Bavarian peaks are gentle and green. Here is an endless haven of silence and rest, of orchards and drowsy hamlets on the lower slopes. Far below these lie a chain of jade-green lakes, often with an antique shrine on the shore, or a maze of caverns starred with flowers and screened with delicate ferns.

This is Hitler's one and only "home", the idyllic spot he selected

twelve years ago. It is perched on the shoulder of the Obersalzburg, two thousand feet above the little town where "Mad Adolf" once drank beer in the old Deutschen Haus and argued with his humble friend, Dietrich Echard.

Everyone knows how the modest chalet of today—"Haus Wachenfeld" is the name its Squire gave it—grew out of the original peasant hut where sister Angela kept house and washed and mended for a troublemaker who, from that day to this, had no use for any other woman in his emotional life. Hitler plays no games, is only a spectator of outdoor sports, and "collects" nothing but books on art and music.

Author

"You can write," I said, as we went inside by a back door and caught loud voices and laughter from the sun-balcony beyond. "The tale of your 'Struggle' was a best-seller beyond the dreams of any professional. How came you to do that?"

"Because I was forced," Hitler answered. "Any man can write if the Idea within him is too strong to contain, and he *must* out with it! Besides, I was in gaol, remember—over there at Landsberg. And, after all, a lonely cell is *the* place in which to brood on things, and set them down. But when all is said, I'm a one-book author. And transcription—even of my own name, as you know from my signature—soon wearies me. So the second part of *Mein Kampf* I dictated here in these hills, looking over into my native land."

There is little to note about Der Führer's summer home, save the odd profusion of cactus-plants in pots, the many canaries in gilded cages whose rolls and trills fill these bright rooms with tireless rapture, and the assortment of presents—furniture, china, silver and rugs—sent by German admirers from far and near. These, I thought, were not well arranged; but then this is a bachelor's home. A woman's taste is in many ways missed—from the kitchen and bedrooms (those in the guest wings, as well) to Hitler's own study.

In this last, by the way, he writes all his important speeches. These may be on foreign affairs, for delivery in the Reichstag, or just informal "talks" to the masses given in the open air without any notes. It is for these "talks" that the lame little Rhinelander, Paul Josef Goebbels, plans stagey "Wagnerian" effects to heighten the appeal of a final peroration.

But mere stage-management does not account for the hypnotic influence with which Hitler sways the vast throngs all over the Reich. In Paris, his former colleague, Gregor Strasser (long since fallen from favor), told me gravely that Der Führer is "a born mystic, with occult powers like those of war-goading priests in Eastern lands, where drums throb, and shrill pipes bid the dancing tribesman get out their guns for a new Jehad!"

Friends

Out on the terrace, Hitler presented me to a few of his team: bushy-browed Rudolf Hess, who learned his fluent English in Egypt, where he was born; gigantic Ernst Franz ("Putzi") Hanfstaengl, a Harvard man of the 1909 class. I noticed that, with the latter, Hitler used the familiar *du*—as to his private consoler and musician in the hours of anxiety and fatigue. Beside the towering, vigorous figure of "Putzi", the frail and pallid "Little Doctor" (Goebbels) looked like a feeble, insignificant oddity. I was soon to learn that he was the life of the company; a born raconteur, with the droll finale of his yarns lifted in a



NEIGHBORS: HITLER SAYS "HELLO."

bull-roar that outshone them all. Here, too, was burly Hermann Goering in suspenders and shorts, with his gracious spouse beside him. But of all the Hitler men, I was most attracted by the new *Feldmarschal*, Werner von Blomberg, whose winning smile and courtly manner did not accord with the loud hilarity of this gathering. It was plain that Hitler has a high respect for this soldier as a late convert to his cause, and as being of even greater use to him as a pillar and prop than is Joachim von Ribbentrop for tasks abroad.

Vegetarian

Dinner at eight was a jolly affair. Everything was discussed *except* politics. Hitler himself, of course, ate his meatless dishes, yet the richness and variety of these, as prepared by Herr Kannenberg, his well-trained cook, was a revelation to us grosser feeders. It was a well-spread table with fine wines, choice liqueurs and cigars. But our host is no smoker, and he drank only fizzy waters.

"Tomorrow," he announced at last, "we're going to have a children's party. So we'll hunt the highland villages for guests and then go down Berchtesgaden to complete the list."

There was music until the small hours. Herr Hanfstaengl gave us delicate bits from Mozart, with terrific crashes of Liszt in between. It was a relief when the last Rhapsody was played, and we could listen to the plaintive flutes and strings of a party of guides and hunters who serenaded their Leader from the cherry-orchard close by.

The furniture in my bedroom was of that 18th century German type which Hitler affects, and on the walls

I saw a few water-colors by Der Führer himself.

Artist

These I inspected closely; for he still paints at odd hours—chiefly architectural subjects—and he signs them with a scrawly hieroglyph which no one could ever make out unless he knew the artist's name. Under one study of typical French peasant houses was written: "Harbourdin: 15-2-1916." Another was dated "November—1916." Yet another showed the interior of a field dressing-station. One that had no trace of havoc was painted on "June 29—1917"; this was the Cathedral of Ardoye in Flanders. Before I left Haus Wachenfeld I discussed his art aspirations with my host.

"I once took samples of my work," he told me with a wry smile, "to the *Kunstakadamie* in Vienna. But I had no luck there, and all hope of a scholarship ended when my drawings were refused a show through 'poverty of talent' and because they were too architectural."

Laborer

He has never forgotten his "five years of misery in Vienna." There he had hunted odd jobs as a common laborer, a carpenter, or house painter, with a little money picked up at intervals by drawing Christmas cards in sentimental vein. In quiet tones will Hitler recall his dreary tramps with workless hordes past the noble mansions of the Ringstrasse. There the contrast between the lot of rich and poor made a deep impression on this heartsick ex-service man, *to whom social injustice was a crying evil that would not let him rest.*

It was then, I gathered, that the first idea of the *Volksgemeinschaft* ("Companionship of the People") took root in his brooding brain. "I remember sniffing at a cook-shop door in the lunch-hour. I had not a cent to buy food, and read rather vacantly a notice smeared with wet chalk along the steamy window: *Dein Volk ist alles; Du bist nichts* ('Thy People is Everything. But *You* are Nothing!')"

There is nothing doleful in these memories as Hitler tells them at table. Even if there were, there is always the lively Goebbels to disperse sadness with a sudden quip or an old German folk-song.

Playmate

Next morning, after breakfast on the terrace, under big canvas umbrellas, the Squire and Marshal von Blomberg set off to collect their guests for the children's party. A smiling Führer would tap on an open door. Entering—perhaps at meal-time—he would inquire what the brood of babes had to eat (four is the minimum family he likes to see). And of course, he must dilate on the vitamin-values of his own milk soups, cinnamon-rice, potato-pancakes and the rest. At four o'clock or so, quite a crowd of his little friends came straggling across the upland meadows.

Messiah

Hitler was quite excited; never was there a middle-aged bachelor who so delighted in the company of children. I couldn't help recalling the somber exponent of the *Reichführerschaft* whom I had seen toiling in his Berlin bureau. He is ill at ease in that Presidial Palace on the Wilhelmstrasse, where the Graf von Bassewitz presents ambassadors and plenipotentiaries of all the nations. Again, I could see him orating in the open air, standing up in his car with contorted features, clenched fists and sweating brow, while men sobbed aloud, and women and girls fell on their knees with eyes closed and breasts heaving with ecstasy.

There, Hitler was the mystical devotee, wearing himself out with that convulsive sense of "Messiahship" which he so often expresses, *"I have been SENT!"* . . . But here in his hill-perched eyrie, Hitler is wholly changed and calmed. He can laugh heartily as he grabs up a tiny tot to show her all the fun that is going on in the aerodrome. Or again, some rustic maid of six or eight plucks up courage to creep up and pipe, *"Ein Autogramme, Mein Führer!"* Out flashes that golden pen, and in a moment Hitler's name is scrawled in a way to defy the handwriting expert. They say his autograph is negotiable anywhere in the Reich for ten marks or so. It is certain that scraps of paper with "A. Hitler" on them have already built orphan homes and hospitals from here to the far marches of East Prussia.

The loveliest excursion of all is down to the clear dark green Königs-See, or Lake of St. Bartholomew. Here are scenes to vie in grandeur with any in Italy or Switzerland. Sheer from the water's edge, wooded peaks rise to 7,000 feet or more. When Hitler visits this lake or its neighbors, the Ober-See and the Hinter-See, he ignores all the motor-craft that ply for hire, preferring a stout rowboat, and will act as his own *Schiffmeister*, bending to the oars as though he loved physical effort. Soon the wooded Kessel rock is rounded, and the chapel-shrine and shooting-lodge of St. Bartholomew comes into view, with its squat domes and whitewashed walls.

Politician

From his unpretentious chalet our Squire would gladly banish all matters political. But this he cannot do. Here he must reconcile conflicting personali-



LITTLE GUESTS: "STAGE-MANAGER" GOEBBELS ENTERTAINS

ties lie Hjalmar Schacht, Herman Goering and Dr. Goebbels. Here also Hitler composes his important public utterances. For this work, and with zealous intent to help, his Nazi high-brows offer all manner of points and classic allusions. Too often these are wholly ignored by a Leader whom all are apt to consider "headstrong" and "impulsive." Retiring to his own study, where untidy books line the green walls, Hitler will roughly outline a manuscript without any embellishment or frills. He will then take the loose sheets to some favorite spot of meditation on the rocky heights, there to develop his theme and to memorize his arguments on a time basis. I was shown a steep knoll in a clump of firs where this earnest Demosthenes has such preliminary rehearsals quite alone. Here the mountain walls fall away, leaving the glorious view over into Austria unbroken for many miles. One can almost see Salzburg station from this point and the tranquil valleys of Hitler's "forbidden" native land.

Rag-tag Soldier

Here Hitler will speak of his boyhood days, just over the frontier in Leonding village, where, in a four-roomed cottage, his father, the much-married Alois Hitler, dwelt with his Klara. Young Adolf was a disappointment to them, as a dreamy and moon-struck ne'er-do-well who could never help the family budget to win a higher standard.

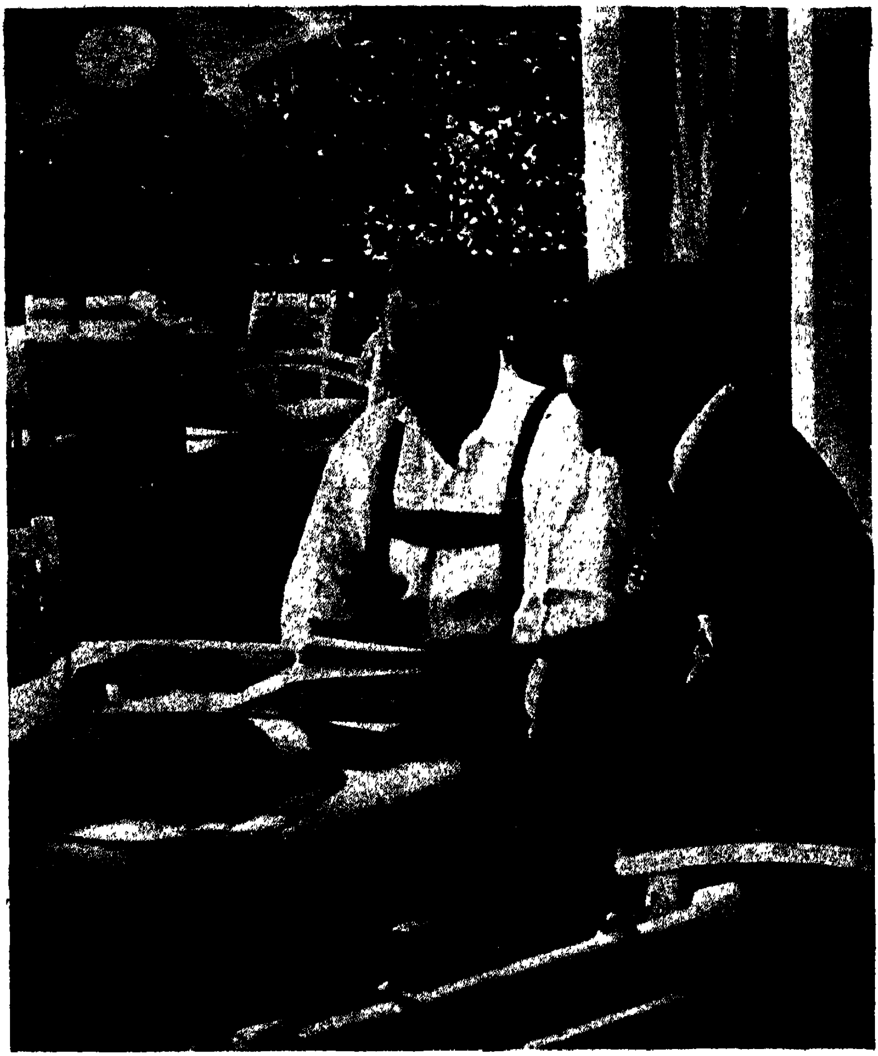
"My father," Hitler mused, "made rather a mess of his brief farming venture. He had no real bent in that way, being always the village official, and something of a martinet with us children. My little pal, Max Sixtl, and I were mighty keen on drilling rag-tag 'armies' in the street. And I must own that our attack and defense shocks were a real affliction to the women shopkeepers. Once or twice we tried girl recruits in the ranks; my sister Paula was among them. But somehow, there's that in the feminine make-up which sees no fun at all in war-games. The girls broke down and cried when they were thumped and knocked about in our battles. So after a short court-martial we drummed them out of the ranks in disgrace.

"But we had awkward moments of our own, too. I remember that in the midst of tactics more or less on 'Clausewitz' lines, I'd hear two piercing blasts on a dog-whistle from down the street. Right well did I know what *they* meant! And as a headlong deserter—to Max's gaping amazement—I would race home as fast as my legs would carry me! At our cottage door stood the dread figure of my father. He'd be loud in reproach, and quite likely ready with heavy clouts that hurt my pride more than my person."

Music-Lover

Back once more in the chalet, and spotting fresh sites through the telescope, Hitler would turn the eye-piece on a tiny hamlet high above Berchtesgaden. Here, he told us, in the parlor of a shabby inn, was hatched the luckless *putsch* of November 9, 1923, in which both Rudolph Hess and Hermann Goering took part. In the cellar of that same beer-house, the fugitive leaders hid for a while after their failure. It continued to be the secret focus of the Nazi movement until Hitler was let out of the fortress-prison of Landsberg-on-Lech.

Of those past days Hitler speaks freely enough, but rarely of the present events, and never of his future in politics. About music he will grow eloquent on a summer night, sitting out on the balcony as a big moon climbs up in a white glory from behind dark masses of the Schönfeldspitze. All



THE MIGHTY: HITLER AND GOERING DO SOME PLANNING

forms of jazz Hitler detests as "a sign of neurasthenia, with a baleful influence upon our young people."

Humble Man

It's interesting, too, to hear his views on the possession of money as a factor in human felicity. He has little enough himself, and still less desire for it. I doubt much whether even Haus Wachenfeld would ever have been his but for the unexpected royalties that came from the prodigious sales of his prison-written "testament." I remember also his proud words to a crowd of workers in the Siemens electrical plant in Berlin:

"Like you, I came up from Labor. And today I have no property in stocks or bonds. Indeed, I think I must be the only statesman in the world who doesn't possess a bank-account!"

No one can say that this man courts the company of the grand folks. Neither is he physically robust, and when in Berlin he soon becomes fretful and tired. On the other hand, out here on the mountain frontier he can walk for hours without fatigue. Often he will rise at dawn, and soon the ground floor of the chalet resounds with the clack of typewriters and telephone bells. For there is business to be done, and quickly, so that by nine or ten he is free to devote himself to his friends, visitors and neighbors.

Bachelor

Women are rarely seen in this bachelor stronghold, apart from the wives of his ministers and official chiefs of the State Department in Berlin Now and then one of the party's amazons, such as Frau Scholtz Klink, may bring along a party of girl scouts for a brief review and casual blessing.

Hitler's reading hours out here are divided among the foreign newspapers, world history, both ancient and modern; biography, and poetry. Blue is Der Führer's favorite color for clothes; a double-breasted lounge suit, stiff white collar, and a dark tie with a pin-emblem in it.

Very few letters are allowed to reach Haus Wachenfeld from the Chancellery in Berlin. There they are often delivered in sacks, especially on Hitler's birthday, which is April 20. These missives vary from open threats by the anti-Nazis now exiled abroad, to genuine offers of money—and even hints of marriage—by women and girls all over the Reich, and even in foreign lands.

❖ ❖ ❖

"You love this place?" I hazarded at last, watching this very "different" man with surprise, as he jested and told funny yarns to his friends out on the moonlit balcony after dinner.

"I am happy here," he replied simply. "High up on these sunny slopes, I feel I can *breathe* and think—and live! The very thought of all that reek and rattle of towns often appalls me as I recall it here. So does all the fuss, all the guarding, and cheering, and flower-pelting with the tedious routine of bureau and official life. Besides, I fancy the folks esteem me. You see, I'm just 'one of them'! They know I can enter into their joys and woes. And how should it be otherwise, when I remember what I *was*, and what I have yet to do—if only my strength lasts, and God and Luck remain with me to the end!"

POISON GAS: myth and menace

1 part danger + 3 parts fancy = public misinformation —here diluted by Edward C. McDowell, Jr.

WARFARE has always been costly, destructive, and in many ways horrible. At the same time it has nearly always been clothed in an aura of romance, and has been identified with the several virtues—patriotic, religious, manly. Of late, however, it has become unfashionable to think of war in a romantic light, and an unusual amount of publicity has been given to its realistic side. Various groups, organizations, and individuals are driving home to people, in the name of peace, the futility of armed conflict, and the horror and the costly destruction it entails.

Highly commendable as this may be, many anti-war appeals have been made on a strictly emotional, even hysterical, basis. The subject has been fertile ground for the horror-mongers and inflammatory journalists. As a result, much unreasonable fear and morbid misinformation have been spread. People who never heard of Tamerlane or Genghis Khan and know only vaguely of the horrors of the American Civil War, think warfare is becoming progressively sterner, and that the next large conflict will mean the end of the world. But as a matter of sober historical fact, warfare has steadily grown less destructive and less terrible, and it promises to continue that trend in the future.

More than any other agent, chemical warfare has captured the popular imagination, and both its proponents and opponents are taking advantage of this fact to drive home their arguments. Pacifists say with some justification that gas warfare is inhuman, revolting, and uncivilized—sufficient reason in itself for not supporting a war. The other camp points out that this is equally true of any form of warfare, but that since chemical warfare is inevitable, something must be done about it. Both are right.

Meanwhile, all governments have tacitly accepted the use of lethal gas as certain, and are taking precautionary measures. Civilian populations are being trained to defend themselves from gas raids as well as bombing raids, and European department stores are selling gas-masks.

At first, these masks cost fifteen dollars each. Then increased production brought the price to less than half. But because ordinary masks are not sufficient protection against certain gases, a gas-proof metal "tent" has been devised. Equipped with oxygen apparatus, it will accommodate about eight people for as many hours. It costs ninety dollars.

Naturally, the public mind is not eased by such things. And adding to the hysterical clamor is the welter of

Sunday supplement articles which confuse the layman with a hodge-podge of morbid misinformation. Sometimes the writers become enthused with their subject and wipe out entire civilizations at half a cent a word. New gases are hinted at (secret formulae locked in War Department vaults), which are so easy to use and so devastating in effect that the writers properly exercise a decent reticence toward revealing the ghastly details.

The truth is, however, that the civilian gas menace is not so black as it is painted. The perfect, or "six-drops-will-destroy-a-city" gas does not exist, nor would it be an easy matter for such a gas to be used in this manner, especially on this continent. There are, it is true, many gases which are instantaneously lethal and which perform wonders. But this is "laboratory performance." How they act in actual warfare under uncontrolled conditions is another matter. Dr. Harrison E. Howe, editor of *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*, has this to say about the problem, writing in the October, 1934, issue of *Chemical Warfare*:

"I think it is fair to say that to the best of our knowledge and belief, research since the war has failed to disclose any gases for field use that are any more advantageous than those known and used during the World War * * * I am not unmindful of the various articles that have appeared both in the public and technical press, referring to new horrors, and there have also been a number of unsupported claims made by alleged inventors, including references to reagents so horrible they could not be disclosed. We have traced down several of these and remain unconvinced that the situation, so far as offense is concerned, has materially changed since the war."

It must be remembered that the main problem in using a war gas is to get the poison to the people it is intended to affect. Between the wish and the result are many difficulties. The relative ease with which the Italians used gas in Ethiopia is not a true criterion of its use against a strong, modern nation. The laws of chemistry and physics, the whims of weather, and the protective and defensive activities of an enlightened general staff, all combine to make a large-scale gassing operation on civilians an expensive gamble. The quantity of gas necessary to lay an effective blanket over an area as large as a city is enormous, and the expense of such a move is great. It is also debatable whether, in most cases, the effect produced would be worth the expense and risk.

But, we might ask, what are these poison gases? How are they used? What are their effects on man?

It Began with a Stench Bomb

Stench bombs were used in medieval warfare, especially in siege operations. These were made of sulphur and were annoying, but not fatal. Such odorous agents were first used by the Chinese—a race which appears to have invented and discarded almost everything before the rest of the world began wearing clothes. The first effective use of lethal gas in warfare was made by the Germans at Ypres on April 22, 1915. Gas shells containing irritants were actually used at Neuve Chapelle in October, 1914, but these were without effect. In April, 1915, however, the Germans tried a cylinder discharge of gas downwind and met with complete success. Canadian and French troops, the surprised recipients, found themselves enveloped in a cloud of murky, greenish yellow mist—chlorine. The casualties were enormous. From that day on, chemical warfare became a permanent part of military tactics. Originally used to break up

the deadlock of trench warfare by driving the enemy out of the ground, it was soon seen to have other important military uses. By the end of the war the use of gas had become almost an exact science.

Improvement

The Germans developed poison gas to a high degree, and were vastly superior to the Allies in the manufacture of it. But the Allies soon not only devised means of combatting chlorine, but began using it themselves. Meanwhile, new gases were introduced, superior in many ways to chlorine. During the war, and after, more than 3,000 gases and other chemical substances were examined for their possible value in war use. Of this number only about thirty were in any way valuable, and of these only about twelve have proved practicable. The twelve gases were in use during the war, or would have been used in 1919 had the war lasted that long. No new gases have been found since then. While certain refinements have been made, and while equipment and methods of using and manufacturing gas have been improved, it is highly improbable that any nation is harboring any "new and devastating lethal gas."

Definitions

The term "gas" is a loose one. Many of the lethal gases are liquids, which are either sprayed or are vaporized by thermo-generators, or "candles." Others are solids. These are utilized usually by placing them in shells which, upon explosion, disperse them as fine dust. As a matter of fact, any chemical compound which cannot be kept readily in a liquid or solid state is not practicable for wartime use.

The gases fall into four general classes:

CLASS A comprises the acute lung irritants, or choking gases. These are called the *suffocants* by the French, and Green Cross or *Lungenreizstoff* by the Germans.

CLASS B consists of the *sternutators* (sneeze-producers), or nose gases. They are called by the French, *irritants respiratoirs,* and by the Germans, Blue Cross or *Hustenreizstoffe.*

CLASS C takes in the lacrymators, or tear gases. The French call them *lacrymogenes,* and the Germans, White Cross or *Augenreizstoffe.*

In CLASS D come the *vesicants,* or blister gases. The German term for them is Yellow Cross or *Hautreizstoffe.*

The chief gases in Class A (the choking gases) are chlorine, phosgene, diphosgene, and chloropicrin. Chlorine, "the classic war gas," is the basis of them all. Its properties and effects are well known to every high school chemistry student. Its chief advantages as a war gas lie in its stability, its cheapness, and in its physical properties. It is heavier than air and is "persistent," that is, it does not immediately dissipate. Its disadvantages are that it is visible, has a pungent, telltale odor, and will combine readily with, or be absorbed by, the protective materials in the cannisters of gasmasks.

Phosgene was devised as an improvement on chlorine. It is a combination of chlorine and carbon monoxide. The gas was used extensively by the Allies to the end of the war, although the Germans let it lapse in favor of other and more deadly agents. It was often mixed with chlorine gas when released as a cloud because it was so light, and in order to keep it from dissipating too quickly. By chemical action the gas causes hydrochloric acid to form in human tissues, corroding the mucus membranes. The eyes are affected, the larynx becomes inflamed and irri-

tated, and the bronchial tubes swell, gradually closing the air passages to the lungs. Disintegration is slow and the victim undergoes a death-struggle horrible to witness in his effort to suck air into his lungs. Excruciating pain and burning is experienced, and the little air which the straining diaphragm does suck through the swollen glottis produces a horrible whistle. Added to this is the terror of the victim who realizes that he is slowly suffocating. Thousands of soldiers died of this fatal inflammation of the lungs, caused by breathing a strong concentration of the gas; smaller concentrations very often were not fatal. Phosgene has other effects on the body which do not take place immediately. It causes the blood serum to filter through the walls of the lungs and then flood them, so that the oxygen cannot get to the lung-cells and on into the blood stream. This is another form of suffocation, and victims have been known to tear open their throats with their fingers in an attempt to breathe. This effect takes place sometimes several hours after the gas has been inhaled.

Diphosgene is the trade name for tri-chloro-methyl-chloro-formate. The French call it *surpalite* and the Germans *Perstoff*. The gas is similar in effect to phosgene, but it is more persistent. For this reason, it was preferred by the Germans who used it in gas shells. The Allies could make the gas in the laboratory, but could not perfect a manufacturing process whereby it would be economical and abundant. So they kept to phosgene.

The *sternutators* are all solid arsenic compounds, and were used mostly by the Germans, especially during the last year of the war. These arsenic solids were loaded in shells which, on explosion, reduced them to a powder fine enough to penetrate ordinary gas-masks. When the fine particles entered the nose, the result was terrific pain, accompanied by much sneezing and coughing. Soldier-victims invariably tore off their masks in order to sneeze, thus leaving themselves unprotected from other toxic gases in the air—mustard or phosgene, for instance. To withstand the arsenic powders, masks had to be very fancy indeed, and the more complicated the mask, the less efficient and comfortable the soldier. The value of chloropicrin (also classified in "A" group) lies in its ease of gas-mask penetration. Other gases in this same group are diphenylarsine chloride (Clark 1 or DA), diphenylarsine cyanide (Clark 2 or DC), and diphenylaminearsine chloride ("adamsite" or DM). The latter was the only lethal gas developed during the war. It was to have been made on a large scale by the British in 1919, but was never actually used on the front. It is said to be more violent than DC.

The *lacrymators* were important with the Germans but were not used as extensively by the Allies. Although they did not directly cause an impressive list of casualties, they were a great source of annoyance. Chiefly these gases caused the eyes to run and to smart, with obvious disadvantage to the soldiers of the enemy. The Germans used the tear-gases to harass the Allied troops. By constantly sending tear-gas over, they could force the enemy troops to keep their masks on for hours at a time. The effect was to lower morale and efficiency.

Gases in the tear-gas group are benzyl bromide and xylyl bromide (German *T-Stoff* and French *cyclite*). These were generally replaced later in the war by more pungent compounds, such as brombenzylcyanide (*B-Stoff* or martonite). These were largely used in hand-grenades and shells. In this group, also, is chloropicrin, mentioned before. This penetrated masks

and caused vomiting and even death. It was frequently used in conjunction with phosgene. The Germans called it *Klop*, the French *aquinite*, and the British, *PS*.

Outstanding among the *vesicants* are mustard gas, so called because of its odor, and *lewisite*, named after its American inventor. Mustard (dichlorethyl sulphide) is probably the king among gases, at least from a tactical standpoint. It will harm any part of the human organism with which it comes in contact. It attacks the skin either as vapor or as a liquid, causing deep burns which heal slowly and which often give place to secondary infection. The gas also affects the eyes, lungs, digestion, nerves—virtually the entire system. France was the only nation among the Allies successful in the manufacture of this gas—an accomplishment finally attained toward the end of the war. Called by France *yperite*, it was also used by the British and Americans with considerable success. The Germans called it *Lost* and used it in great quantities. It is a persistent gas, and men have become badly burned merely by sitting on ground that had been infected hours earlier. In the Ethiopian campaign, Italy drenched the hillsides with mustard gas in order to discourage snipers and guerrilla tactics. The gas clung to the damp ground and vegetation for long periods, burning the bare bodies and unshod feet of hundreds of natives, long after its apparent vestiges had disappeared.

Lewisite is chlorovinylarsine dichloride, and was discovered in 1904 by a chemist in America. It was not actually used in the war, but the Americans had prepared to manufacture large quantities. A greatly exaggerated horror, sometimes called the "dew of death," lewisite is one of the gases, you hear, which will "wipe out entire cities." This much can be said of it: it is quicker-acting than mustard gas, but its burns heal more quickly; it is more volatile, but consequently less persistent; it has a more pronounced smell, and therefore is more easily recognized. The British still prefer mustard.

Two other gases must be mentioned, although they are not deemed practical for chemical warfare. These are carbon monoxide and hydrocyanic acid, or Blue Gas. Both are among the most deadly gases known. Everyone is familiar with carbon monoxide, a product of incomplete combustion and the cause of many deaths among motorists. But it is lighter than air and dissipates too quickly to effect much damage. Furthermore, it cannot be liquefied at reasonable temperatures, which means that it is impractical from a transportation standpoint. It is, however, used in combination with more persistent gases.

Hydrocyanic acid is very cheap, easy to make, and extremely lethal; one whiff paralyzes the heart. It is, however, unstable and extremely difficult to handle. It has a limited commercial use, and there are probably not more than a dozen men in this country capable of "fooling" with it.

Of all the war gases, only one was developed during the war specifically for war use—*adamsite*. Experimenters have been hampered by lack of reliable means of testing, for experiments on animals are not conclusive.

These, then, are the gases available for chemical warfare. It is evident that the use of a gas in warfare depends on more than actual killing power. A serious failure in any one of the requirements makes a gas impracticable for war use, regardless of its lethal qualities. The requirements are physical, chemical, and economic. The ideal war gas must be effective in

small concentrations; it must be able to inflict casualties when diluted as weak as one part in several million parts of air. Next, enemy protection against it must be difficult, expensive, and time-consuming. Again, the gas must be effective in as many ways as possible—preferably a combination eye, nose, throat, lung, nerve, and skin irritant. Also, it should force the enemy to mask, and then penetrate the mask. It must be cheap and easy to manufacture on a large scale It must be easy to handle and to transport. It should be heavier than air. It must be stable --that is, it must not readily combine with other substances as, for example, the filtering substances in gas-mask cannisters. And it must not lose its effectiveness in storage or in shipment, or be rendered ineffective by the explosion when used in shells

These and other "musts" explain why there are so few gases, and why even those in use are not so effective in actual warfare as they are in the laboratory. Granted that a gas attack on a big city can be successful, the cost would be enormous—enough in some cases to run an army corps for a considerable period.

The greatest threat to cities in wartime will come from thermite (incendiary) bombs. These contain a simple mixture of iron and aluminum which, upon striking, will combine to create temperatures of more than 4,000 degrees. The thermite bomb weighs about two or three pounds and great quantities can be carried by airplanes. Whereas a gas attack is soon over and not effective above the ground, a thermite bomb will start a fire; a thousand conceivably might start a thousand fires. The spreading cumulative effect of the bombs would be far worse than a gas attack.

But it is to be noted that the infantry and artillery still hold the palm for pure destructiveness. A place can be bombed, gassed, and shelled to the heart's content, but it is not captured until troops move in and actually occupy it. The Japanese used the most modern means of reducing the Chinese forts below Shanghai to a powder, but did not succeed in dislodging the defenders. It was finally necessary to land Japanese marines and take the forts with the bayonet. And it must be said that a good, tough bayonet charge can result in more nastiness and carnage, more horrible wounds and human suffering, than any other means. One of the sorriest events of the Italio-Ethiopian war was the destruction and pillaging of Addis Ababa by the demoralized native troops. There was nothing chemical or modern about that.

—behind the Arab-Jewish riots in the Holy Land

CONFLICT in PALESTINE

BY ABRAHAM REVUSKY

Coming after a lull of several years, the riots in Palestine, reminiscent of the much larger outbreaks of 1921 and 1929, again give that little country the aspect of an armed camp.

It is to be hoped that soon the Holy Land will regain the outward calmness of the last few years and again resume its forward march toward progress and prosperity. But such outward calmness should not be mistaken for genuine peace. An embittered, relentless political struggle is being waged in Palestine. Even when not fought with knives and bullets, it constantly charges the atmosphere with potential electricity.

The struggle is a three-cornered one. First, there are the Jews, basing their claims not only on old historical connections and on formal rights granted to them by the famous Balfour Declaration, but also on important economic achievements which helped to enrich and civilize that formerly neglected country. Second, there are the Arabs who, forming the majority of the population, claim the right to self-determination, and demand a stop to Jewish immigration which they regard as a menace to their national interest. Third, above both Jew and Arab stand the British who, by the right of military conquest and actual possession, legalized by a mandate from the League of Nations, are ruling the country and trying to maintain a balance of power between the Arabs and Jews.

Jewish Argument

Pleading their rights to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine, Jewish leaders of the country, supported by a strong Zionist movement throughout the world, point not only to formal promises made to them in this respect, but also to the natural right of a persecuted people to find a new haven in any country whose natural possibilities are not yet developed by its former population. They point to the Nazi persecutions in Germany, which are making life impossible for the 500,000 Jews still living there. They likewise envisage intensification of the Jewish problem in several other countries where millions of Jews are condemned to gradual starvation by economic discrimination. For at least some of these Jews, Palestine would seem the only hope.

Jewish leaders argue that the Zionist colonization of the Holy Land was not done at the expense of native Arabs. They base this assertion on statistics proving that the Arabs in Palestine, freed (thanks to Jewish medical assistance) of epidemic diseases prevailing in other countries of the Near East, showed the greatest natural increase. No Arab, it is stated, was driven out of the country because of Jewish pene-

tration. On the contrary, owing to the prosperity created by Jewish immigration every year, Palestine absorbs a growing number of Arab laborers from the neighboring countries. During the last 14 years the Arab population of Palestine, according to official figures, increased from 664.000 to 960,000. Even a superficial comparison of the living standards of the Arabs in Palestine with their co-nationalists in Transjordan and Iraq proves that the Arabs, at least economically, did nothing but gain from the Jewish immigration.

Arab Grievances

Many Arab leaders concede the truthfulness of these Jewish assertions. They cannot uphold the old argument about impoverishment of Arab peasants by the Jewish immigration when all facts seem to prove the contrary. But they still maintain that Jewish immigration to Palestine may mean their ultimate ruin. They feel that when the Jews become stronger and will no longer be restrained by the British administration in shaping the destiny of the country, they may drive out Arabs from Government positions and important branches of trade and industry. And even if this danger should not be realized, even if Arab prosperity should continue indefinitely under Jewish rule, Arabs cannot contemplate with equanimity the prospects of denationalization, allegedly threatened because of Jewish immigration.

"We cannot sell the priority of our national rights for material advantages," the author was told by one of the younger Arab nationalists who was honest enough to discard the old contentions.

This argument, from the Jewish viewpoint, is the most injurious. When Arab leaders come forth with complaints about unemployment and landlessness, supposedly caused by Jewish immigration, the Zionists can easily refute such complaints by pointing to the indisputable strides of the Arab population since the beginning of Jewish immigration. It is much more difficult for Zionist leaders to deal with the new Arab generation which, educated in a strongly nationalist spirit, is inclined to disregard economic advantages and to argue on the basis of pure nationalism.

British Position

It is only natural that the controversy, putting England in the position of supreme arbiter, enormously strengthens British power in Palestine. Notwithstanding their alleged impartiality towards the warring factions, the British recently adopted a policy which seems to indicate a growing pro-Arab sentiment. Formally bound by the Balfour Declaration, the British Colonial Office, under whose jurisdiction Palestine was placed since the mandate, clearly shows the tendency to trim the extent and lessen the significance of the document. The ambiguous wording of that promise, granting Jews the right to establish a National Home in Palestine under the condition of "safeguarding its civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities," gives ample leeway for all kinds of interpretations.

It seems that immediately after the war leading British circles were inclined to interpret the provisions of the Balfour Declaration in a broader sense. But the Jews, lacking strong and farsighted leadership, neglected the great opportunities of that time. Likewise, they were not able then to establish friendly contacts with Arab leaders of the country. In later years Great Britain, under the influence of the Tories in the Colonial Office, who are unsuited temperamentally to grasp the significance of the tremendous forces behind

the Jewish movement, took a less friendly attitude towards Jewish aspirations. The strengthening of the Arab movement, culminating in the pogroms of 1921 and 1929, was regarded by many officials as another argument for a pro-Arab policy. As matters stand now, Jews have the distinct feeling that British policy in Palestine is based more on the second part of the Balfour Declaration, safeguarding the rights of the Arabs, than on its direct obligation to facilitate establishment of the Jewish National Home.

Naturally, it is not easy to keep Jews away from Palestine. A people of seventeen million, the greatest portion of whom is brought to the brink of starvation by anti-Semitic persecution, cannot be made by regulation alone to give up hope for the only country which offers them a reasonably secure future. Moreover, the British people at home, contrary to the hard-boiled officials of the Colonial Office, sympathize with the plight of the Jews, especially in Hitler Germany, and are proud of the historic opportunity given Great Britain to save these industrious people.

Legislative Assembly

At the present time, the political struggle in Palestine is conducted around three important issues — the legislative assembly, land legislation, and immigration.

The problem of the legislative assembly, the necessity for which was theoretically recognized since the beginning of the British civil administration in Palestine, lately took on a practical aspect owing to the decision of the Colonial Office to convoke such an assembly in the immediate future. In its present shape the projected assembly provides for separate elections of representatives of the three principal communities of Palestine—Moslems, Christians, and Jews. To this group, it is provided, shall be added a certain number of British officials appointed by the High Commissioner. Altogether, the legislative assembly shall consist of eleven Arab Moslems, three Christian Arabs, seven Jews, five British officials, and two "merchants." The last classification is really a disguised representation of the smaller minorities of Palestine. Probably one of these "merchants" will be a German, and the other a Greek or Armenian.

The efforts of the present High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, to induce Arab and Jewish leaders to accept this representation as the beginning of a future parliament met with the greatest difficulty. The Jews flatly rejected the idea of a legislative assembly at the present time when they are still a minority—about 30 percent of the total population. They argue that the 390,000 Jews now living in Palestine are not a substitute for the seventeen million people to whom the Balfour Declaration was originally offered. The right of Jews outside Palestine to go there should be recognized, it is felt, by giving the Jewish community at least parity with the Arabs in the proposed assembly. On the force of these arguments the Jews decided to boycott the anticipated elections.

When Jewish leaders are confronted with the objection that parity of 390,000 Jews with 960,000 Arabs would not be in accordance with prevalent democratic principles, they usually reply by pointing to other British possessions where the supremacy of the colonizing minority is recognized even in a more pronounced manner. Why should the British demand from Jews such "mechanical" justice, of which they themselves would never think of Kenya, Rhodesia, or the Union of South Africa?

It is argued further that the Jews are paying about sixty percent of the taxes and are, in general, on a much higher level of civilization. Thus, they feel they are entitled to something more than proportionate representation. For instance, if Palestine should have elections on the American model, where some literacy test is regarded as a basic condition for voting rights, the number of Jewish voters would certainly be no less than the number of Arabs.

Arab factions are still divided in their attitude toward the proposed assembly. Were the Jews to accept the proposal, Arab leaders would most certainly reject it. They would say, as they did in 1922, when the project of a legislative council was launched by the then High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, that the proposed assembly does not give the Arab majority sufficient control over the country. As matters stand now, most Arab leaders are ready to accept the proposition in principle. At the same time, they demand an assurance that future legislatures reserve the right to prohibit Jewish immigration, or to limit it at least to an insignificant annual quota. They would also like to pass laws which would restrain Jews from purchasing land for the settlement of immigrants.

It seems that the British Government, rejecting the demands of Arab leaders regarding immigration, is inclined to include land legislation within the limits of the future assembly. However, this does not mean abolition of the veto right of the High Commissioner, who may always use this prerogative if a certain law would seem to him inimical to the interests of the country, or contrary to its basic constitution, which includes a certain minimum of Jewish rights.

The arguments of the Arab leaders who are ready to accept such a legislature, despite the practically unlimited veto power of the High Commissioner, are that the British Government will be constantly reluctant to use its veto power, if a certain law should be re-adopted at each session. Besides, the legislature would serve as a valuable arena of nationalistic propaganda among the Arabs.

Lately, the project of a legislative assembly was discussed in the British Parliament. The great majority of speakers in the House of Lords as well as in the House of Commons strongly rejected the assembly plan on the ground that it was a betrayal of war-time promises made to Jews. The Government, however, regards the establishment of a legislative assembly as its exclusive prerogative, and therefore no resolution regarding it was formally adopted. Nevertheless, the opinion is heard that the hostile attitude shown by the British Parliament towards the idea of an immediate convocation of a legislative assembly in Palestine may greatly affect the future actions of the Government there. In Zionist circles the hope was expressed that the British rulers of Palestine, without formally renouncing the assembly, would use the sharp Jewish hostility as a pretext for shelving it for the present.

Restriction of Immigration

The second important problem that is causing continuous political strife in Palestine is Jewish immigraton. Before 1933 the net result of this immigration did not exceed the yearly average of 10,000—hardly enough to offset the natural Arab increase. Although the percentage of Jews was increasing slightly, their chances ever to attain a majority, or even a numerical parity, seemed remote. With the beginning of 1933 this situation, however, underwent a radical change. Persecution in Germany, coupled with increasing discrimination in other countries and a

general feeling of economic insecurity among the Jews, tremendously strengthened the driving force of Jewish immigration. The economic boom which started in Palestine even before Hitler's rise to power gave a tremendous impetus to constructive activities requiring an increasingly greater number of labor immigrants. As the result of these developments, the Jewish immigration in 1933 reached 31,000, grew in 1934 to 43,000, and jumped in 1935 to the unprecedented figure of 62,000. Together with a smaller number of illegal immigrants who were smuggled into the country without official permits, the net result of the Jewish immigration during the last three years was at least 140,000.

There was no unemployment during this period of intense immigration. On the contrary, the influx of constructive capital was on a much larger scale than the influx of labor. All the time there was an actual shortage of manual labor. In many cases Jewish capitalists, owing to the labor shortage caused by severe immigration restrictions, had to employ, instead of their own people, an increasing number of Arabs from the neighboring countries. The area of orange plantations, which produces the main exports of the country, rapidly expanded, and a great number of diversified industrial undertakings were established.

The experience of the last three years showed that an immigration of from 40,000 to 50,000 Jews could be easily maintained in the future, if only it were accompanied, as heretofore, by a corresponding influx of Jewish capital. This is quite possible.

Naturally, the maintenance of the present level of Jewish immigration and its gradual increase also depends on the economic policies of the mandatory power. At present, Palestine, as a country of free trade in the midst of a protection-minded world, has become a dumping ground for subsidized merchandise, especially from countries with devalued currency. Many Jewish leaders are convinced that a radical change in the trade status, prescribed by a mandate created under wholly different circumstances, is a primary condition for the future development of the National Home.

It is easy to understand why Arab leaders are greatly aroused by the prospects of a Jewish immigration which would considerably exceed the natural increase of the Arab population. Should the Jewish immigration proceed at the average rate of the past three years, the numerical parity, regarded by some Zionist leaders as the pinnacle of their ambitions, would be reached in about 25 years. Small wonder that the propaganda against Jewish immigration recently reached its height.

The Government seems inclined to yield to demands for new restrictions. The number of certificates for labor immigrants granted for the first half of this year was greatly curtailed, and rumors have been spread regarding the intention of the Government to double the minimum required from capitalistic immigrants. At present this amounts to one thousand pounds ($5,000.00).

While the latter intention apparently has been abandoned for the time being because of the strong Jewish protests throughout the world, several minor restrictions were recently put in force to reduce Jewish immigration to the lowest possible level.

Immigration itself, the Jews claim, is the greatest source of Palestine's prosperity. Jewish capital, it is held, does not regard investments in Palestine secure if there is no guarantee of a further increase in the Jewish community. Many well-to-do people who just salvaged a part of their capital from Germany are not certain that even in

Palestine Jews may regard themselves as secure should they forever remain a minority among a great Arab population. At the same time, landlords are not eager to build on a truly large scale when they cannot anticipate a strong clamor for their apartments from the newcomers from Europe.

Land Legislation

The problem of land legislation is based on the Arab apprehension that the Jews, with their superior capital resources, intend gradually to purchase all arable land, thereby forcing Arab peasants into urban occupations or emigration. However, should the Jews, or even some of them, actually harbor such aggressive aims, they are still very far from the goal. The total land that came into Jewish possession in the 55 years of Jewish colonization does not exceed 1,480,000 dunams (a dunam is one fourth of an acre), which is only 6% of the 26,158,000 dunams forming the total land area. Even conceding that the Jewish-owned tracts contain a greater percentage of arable land than those in the country as a whole, there is still a great discrepancy between the percentage of Jews in Palestine (about 30%) and their land holdings in that country.

The total area now under cultivation is estimated to be about six million dunams, or about 23% of the total area of the country. Most agricultural experts are firmly convinced that at least half of Palestine's land could be profitably cultivated.

Opposing the Arab demand for the prohibition of land sales, Jewish farmers in Palestine contend that in most cases Arab landowners economically gained by the sale of some holdings to Jews. In addition, they profited to a very great extent by the development of a great inner market created by Jewish immigration.

Land legislation introduced by the British seems to favor the Arabs. Without directly prohibiting the sale of land to Jews, the British Administration promulgated several laws which afford land tenants and even squatters a degree of protection unheard of in England or in other dominions. It virtually means that when an imporant Arab landowner sells some of his holdings to Jews, the buyers cannot take actual possession of the land until the land tenants, even if they do not possess any legal title to the land, are compensated to an extent regarded as satisfactory by them.

In sharp contrast to this extremely radical protection of land tenants, the land taxation of Palestine is highly reactionary. The entire burden of taxation is placed on the shoulders of farmers who cultivate their land more intensively than the others. The orange groves, which comprise the most intensive branch of Palestine's agriculture, must pay exorbitant taxes at a time when uncultivated land, held by its present owners for purely speculative purposes, is actually free of taxation. It is only natural that such laws enabling feudal Arab landowners to retain their uncultivated land without any cost are a serious hindrance to further Jewish colonization.

But acute as the political situation in Palestine is at present, there are still hopes for the future. They find root principally in more broad-minded attitudes on the part of Jew and Arab.

Four articles on Canada, complete in this issue.

NEIGHBORS to the NORTH

1. UTOPIA EVADES ALBERTA By STEVEN CARTWRIGHT

TAKE the Townsend movement. Reduce its promised benefits from $200 to $25 a month, but extend them to all adult mankind. Give the plan a more vehement leader, and add an even deeper religious fervor. Transplant it to a Canadian prairie province. You then have a coarse, but fair, idea of Premier Aberhart's Alberta Social Credit League.

But there is one vital difference: Economists can wrangle until doomsday about the Townsend plan, but the Aberhart system of social credit has been put to the bitter test of reality. Dr. Townsend is still but a potential political threat; Mr. Aberhart, on the other hand, is the first major prophet on this continent to have been elected to power.

Essentially, the Alberta election was a personal victory for Mr. Aberhart. Unprepossessing, even uncouth, in his physical appearance, his success can be explained in terms of a fanatical zeal which compels his followers and tramples on his enemies.

Mr. Aberhart would rule the movement with an iron hand. Members are called upon to pledge themselves against listening to adverse propaganda, whether by radio or newspaper. Mr. Aberhart personally chose the movement's election candidates from panels of names drawn up by local committees. Hecklers he cannot abide, and to him the press is anathema.

If Mr. Aberhart has little regard for the democratic conventions of free speech and discussion, it is because he has vested his political principles with the cloak of religious authority; to discuss them is heresy and to oppose them is sin. The creed he has wedded to social credit is a Baptist fundamentalist one, combined with a strong strain of evangelical mysticism; he speaks fervently of "raptures" and the second coming of Christ. In brief, he might be described as a cross between William Jennings Bryan and Aimee Semple McPherson.

Thus Mr. Aberhart's success has been, not as an economist, nor yet as a politician, but as a prophet. His message has been best expressed by a Winnipeg editor in the words, "Come unto me all that travail and are heavy laden, and I will give you $25 a month." It is impossible to understand the growth of the Alberta Social Credit League without appreciating the fact that social credit has come to Alberta as a revealed religion rather than as an economic theory. Mr. Aberhart has offered his followers, not only economic security in this world, but the salvation of their souls in the next. And as a political platform it proved invincible.

The kernel of the prophet's following consists of those who have listened faithfully to his Sunday broadcasts from the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute over a period of about ten years.

Economic conditions, too, have been in Mr. Aberhart's favor, and the ranks of his followers were swelled by those

who felt that no experiment could land the province in a worse mess than it endured at the time. There were those who took up social credit as they would have entered a chain-letter scheme, and of course, there was a leavening of those who saw a chance for exploitation and those who wanted something for nothing.

All these factors combined to bring Mr. Aberhart into power last August with a sweeping mandate to bring heaven down to earth in the course of a couple of legislative sessions. The political battle won, he is now wrestling with the practical application of an economic theory which most people regard as fantastic.

Blueprints for Utopia

From Major Douglas, the English originator of social credit, Mr. Aberhart has borrowed his vocabulary, plus the basic idea of an inherent lack of purchasing power which must be offset by consumers' credit. The rest of the plan is his own brain-child.

If you are a citizen of Alberta you will receive each month from the State Credit House your "cultural heritage" of $25, which you must spend within a year or invest in Government bonds.

If you happen to be the Provincial Treasurer of Alberta, you will be responsible for the issuance of $120,000,000 worth of this credit each year. The measure of this responsibility is the fact that, during the last six years, the budgetary revenues of Alberta have run consistently around the figure of $15,000,000 a year. So if, again, you are an inquisitive lay economist, you will ask how the provincial revenues can be increased eightfold to cover the payment of these dividends, unless the plan is simply and excessively inflationary.

This is where the "just price" and the "unearned increment levy" come in. Mr. Aberhart attributes a large portion of Alberta's economic woes to an excessive spread between the producer's and the retailer's price—the "unearned increment." A committee of experts would fix the "just price" for all commodities; all prices would be held down, and the margin between wholesale and retail prices reduced.

Secondly, Mr. Aberhart claims that the "unearned increment" should be subject to a levy. In effect this proposed levy is the familiar idea of a processing tax.

So far, so good. But how can Mr. Aberhart finance an annual disbursement of $120,000,000 a year from the proceeds of a processing tax when, in 1932, Alberta's total net production was only $148,000,000, the gross value of the province's manufactured products $55,000,000, and the total retail sales only $116,000,000?

In answer to this, Mr. Aberhart claims that the subsidy to consumers and the reduction of prices by price control will so stimulate the flow of goods and credit that a levy which normally would yield but $10,000,000, would be sufficient to guarantee payment of the full yearly dividends.

There are obvious objections to the Aberhart plan. There is the constitutional obstacle. The British North America Act reserves to the Federal Government the right to control currency and credit, trade and commerce.

On the economic side, it may be socially desirable to reduce the middleman's profits by controlling producers' and retailers' prices. But if the plan proposes to raise its funds from a tax on this spread, surely to reduce it is killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

The real crux of the matter, however, is whether or not Mr. Aberhart is justified in expecting such a phe-



MR. ABERHART'S PROGRESS

—*Winnipeg Free Press*

nomenal increase in trade as a result of subsidizing consumption. In the first place, Alberta is substantially dependent upon external trade, and social credit is not going to pay $25 a month to English and continental wheat importers. Second, Mr. Aberhart bases his more optimistic calculations upon the velocity of credit circulation, pointing out that in four months one town did $8,000.00 worth of business with $1,000 worth of post-dated checks. This, supposedly, is the magic. But Mr. Aberhart apparently confuses the circulation of credit with that of commodities. The cold fact remains that $120,000,000 will have to be collected from the processing of commodities. While Mr. Aberhart claims that social dividends will miraculously increase the turnover of these commodities, others point out that the processing tax necessarily will be so severe that it will inhibit production.

At present, the onus of proof is still with Mr. Aberhart, for a practical demonstration of the mysteries of social credit has had to wait upon the more pressing problem of keeping Alberta solvent.

Inheriting an empty treasury, a current deficit of $2,810,000, and a funded debt of nearly $160,000,000, he told his followers that they would have to wait 18 months for the new dispensation. Mr. R. J. Magor, Montreal actuary and Chamber of Commerce president, was engaged as an

adviser, and the Government embarked upon the unspectacular task of pruning expenses.

Borrowing money was more complicated. Mr. Aberhart needed cash before he could get social credit working, but the investing public and the banks would not lend the necessary funds until they could see the scheme in successful operation. That left the Federal Government as the only source of cash.

By Christmas 1935, Mr. Aberhart's political honeymoon was definitely over. All that the voters of Alberta had to show for their faith were a series of economy measures, instigated by a president of that temple of financial orthodoxy, the Chamber of Commerce Mr. Aberhart himself had postponed the deadline for payment of the first $25 by another six months. To make matters worse, Major Douglas over in England, who was being depended upon to lend an expert hand after the routine financial problems had been cleared up, was showing signs of disaffection.

With the New Year came the Dominion-Provincial Conference and a showdown with Ottawa on the matter of loans. The Federal Government laid down the ultimatum that it would continue to stand behind the credit of the provinces only on condition that it received satisfactory security for loans and that the flow of provincial bond issues should be controlled by a Federal-Provincial Loan Council. Alberta was granted a Federal loan of $2,000,000. But it was to be the last "hand-out"; all further assistance would be conditional upon that province's acceptance of the Loan Council's supervision—which would of course, effectively clog the operation of social credit.

March 1936 brought its mead of grief to Alberta. First, there was the budget, which showed a deficit of $5,227,850. For the year 1936-7, new taxes were to be added, old ones increased, yet a deficit of $2,549,044 was still anticipated. The only answer appeared to be conversion of the provincial debt to a 2.75% rate of interest, which would save $2,297,519 annually; yet that would discourage future lenders.

The second episode was the final break with Major Douglas, who shed all responsibility for the plight of his doctrines in Alberta.

If March came in like a lion, it did not go out like a lamb. On the 31st a bond maturity of $3,200,000 fell due. The provincial treasury was bare. The banks declined to advance payments on the principal of the debt. And Mr. Aberhart had two choices: He could obtain a Federal loan and guarantee of the refunding issue if he would accept future Federal supervision of his financing. Or he could risk alienating all lenders by defaulting. He nailed his colors to the mast and chose the latter course.

Today, Mr. Aberhart stands alone. Major Douglas has gone; social credit has been referred to a Royal Commission; and the introduction of the whole scheme seems as far away as it was last August. Alberta is not paying its way and the Premier's refusal to compromise his principles has isolated the province from outside help. He may continue to postpone Utopia and engender the disaffection of his followers; or political exigencies may force him to embark upon his program precipitately. Neither alternative offers to Mr. Aberhart an enduring political future. In the meantime, he stands as an object lesson to the effect that while it is bad enough for a prophet to be without honor in his own country, to be a prophet without credit—well. . . .

2.

CANADA'S NEW DEALERS

BY GRANT DEXTER

IN 1921 Viscount Bryce in his book *Modern Democracies* remarked that "in Canada, ideas are not needed to make parties, for these can live by heredity and, like the Guelfs and Ghibellines of medieval Italy, by memories of past combats."

Broadly speaking, the years of the depression have confirmed Lord Bryce's observation. Yet hard times have produced at least one political party which is likely to endure—the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Two others, the Social Credit and Reconstruction parties, whose horoscopes are not favorable, are in existence, and he would be a bold man who would forecast what will issue from the political ferment now going on in the French-Canadian Province of Quebec. As regards the more extreme shades of opinion, the communist vote has increased, but it is still a negligible factor; as a national political force communism is virtually non-existent.

Rise of the C.C.F.

When Viscount Bryce wrote *Modern Democracies,* he had before him the record of more than 50 years of the Canadian Federation. It told of many political insurrections, third parties which had sprung up, but of which none had succeeded. On rare occasions these third parties had served to defeat one or the other of the major parties; otherwise they had played no part in the Government of the Dominion. In 1921, however, the most formidable of all third parties, the Progressive movement, was launched and emerged from the general election of that year as the second largest party in the Commons. This was a radical liberal movement, directed chiefly towards the lowering of tariffs. Five years later it had been largely absorbed in the Liberal Party, the traditional low-tariff party, and Canadian politics had reverted to the time-honored two-party system—Liberals and Conservatives.

There then remained of the Progressive Party an ill-assorted rump, comprising two Laborites and a handful of rural members from Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Ontario. Passing years saw this group weld itself into a political unit with a distinctive policy. It became, in 1932, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation Party, the nearest approach Canada is likely to get to a socialist party.

To the student of politics, the emergence of the C.C.F. is intensely interesting. The party is a combination of labor and farmer members, and the platform is socialistic. The difficulties of uniting labor and agriculture are obvious, but to rally North American farmers to a socialistic policy has always been regarded as impossible.

The C.C.F. today stands for a new economic system to be brought about by the socialization of key industries and services. The first step would be

to socialize the financial institutions. From there the party would proceed to the State control of foreign trade by export and import boards. Unemployment would be met by public works, slum clearance, and housing schemes. Social services, pensions, medicine, etc., would be extended, and the medical profession would become a branch of the Government service.

The record of the party in successive elections indicates little promise of immediate success. There were 21 members in the farmer-labor group returned in 1926; 15 in 1930; and seven C.C.F. members in 1935. The party would seem to be headed for oblivion, but while its electoral success has been on a steadily diminishing scale, its vote in the country has been constantly increasing. Last October the C.C.F. polled 385,000 votes out of a total of 4,392,227. This compares with about 100,000 votes polled by the group in 1930.

Even more hopeful from the C.C.F. viewpoint are the inroads which the party has made in several of the provinces. Little success has been achieved in Ontario, none in Quebec or the Maritime provinces. But in the more radical West, the party is an important factor and is rated the favorite to win in British Columbia, where the present Liberal Government must go to the country next year. In Canada, national parties can scarcely hope for success unless based upon provincial allies, and in this respect the C.C.F. is making definite headway.

Liberals Revolt in Quebec

The Action Liberale Nationale in Quebec is a provincial party and, in the nature of things, has no mission in the Federal sphere. Nevertheless it may exert a more profound influence on Canadian politics than the C.C.F. or any other third party. The movement is a revolt on the part of young liberals against old liberals, and it has also drawn support from the more radical of the Catholic clergy.

Quebec has been in the hands of the Liberal Party since 1897 and the present Premier, Hon. L. A. Taschereau, has held office for 16 years. The Taschereau Administration has been marked by extreme conservatism, by friendliness to Big Business, and, in later years, by a tendency to use the power of patronage to create a political machine. In 1934 a group of young Liberals under the leadership of Paul Gouin, of Montreal, son of Sir Lomer Gouin who was Mr. Taschereau's predecessor in the Premiership, demanded reform both in the matter of appointments and in the adoption of more liberal social policies. The demand being refused, a young liberal movement was founded which, in the elections of last November, all but defeated Mr. Taschereau. Mr. Gouin entered into an alliance with the Conservative Party to avoid three-cornered contests and surprised his most ardent supporters by electing 26 members in a legislature of 90 members. The Taschereau Government was returned with a majority of six, instead of the normal 35 or 40, and the early retirement of the Premier is looked for.

The Action Liberale Nationale is of national importance for two reasons. It has occasioned a resurgence of French-Canadian nationalism. In 1911 a similar outburst destroyed the Laurier Liberal Administration, and the present outbreak might have equally decisive repercussions. There has always been in Quebec (a province possessing more than one third of the total population of the Dominion), a feeling that the interests of French Canada would be well served by severance from the English-speak-

ing provinces. The dissatisfaction is not economic; it is cultural. But that the movement can ever reach the point where confederation will be threatened is unthinkable, for the economic ties that bind Quebec to the other provinces are too strong to be severed. Still, the movement might break into the national picture by electing members to the House of Commons, thus weakening or knocking out one of the buttresses which supports the Liberal Party.

It is too early to attempt to chart the future of this political infant. In the Federal sphere, nationalist movements in Quebec in the past invariably have petered out. The Federal nationalists have always allied themselves with the Conservative Party, lost their identity and their hold on the French-Canadian electorate. To date the Gouin party has abstained from intervention in Federal politics and there is reason to believe this attitude will be maintained.

Reconstruction Party Passes

The Reconstruction Party is regarded as one with a past but no future. Unlike the C. C. F. it never had a distinctive policy. At best it stood for no more than radical Toryism. Mr. Stevens, the leader, is a lifelong Conservative who served this party in the Commons from 1911 to 1934, and he has been a member of every Conservative ministry formed since 1921. In 1930, he vigorously supported Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett in applying a high tariff. Four years, however, proved to Mr. Stevens, if not to Mr. Bennett, that a high tariff is no solution for unemployment. Mr. Stevens launched an inquiry into price spreads in the spring of 1934 and uncovered a sad state of sweated and underpaid labor in factories, stores, and other business establishments. He demanded State regulation in the interests of the working classes and ultimately resigned from the Government to form a new party. The platform of his party, in addition to State regulation of industry and employment generally, included public works and slum clearance programs.

Mr. Stevens was the popular idol of the people in the summer of 1935, and in the October elections, he alone was elected. His party polled 384,000 votes. Since last October, however, nothing has been heard of the Reconstruction movement. It seems evident that these votes were drawn chiefly from the Conservatives and ultimately will return to that party. That the Reconstruction Party will ever again appeal to the public, as such, is regarded as most improbable.

The Depression and After

Five years of depression appear to have left the two-party system in Canada substantially unshaken. Parties of protest have arisen but, like others in the past, they have failed to make any impression on the electorate and will rapidly fade out. The revolt in Quebec is of importance only because of the damage it might cause in the Federal field.

Only one new party, in the permanent sense, may be said to have been added to Canada's political system. This is the C.C.F. or socialist party. But, while conceding the C.C.F. permanence, it must not be forgotten that it has proved unable to take advantage of hard times and will have to rely upon the slow growth of socialistic thought in the country.

This will be a long business. And meanwhile the Guelfs and Ghibellines are reasonably certain of alternating in the saddle.

3. RECIPROCITY

BY B. K. SANDWELL

AT first sight it appears surprising that the Canadian political party which in 1911 was dismissed from power by the electors for proposing a reciprocity agreement with the United States should in 1935 make a successful campaign and obtain the largest parliamentary majority in Canadian history, mainly by promising to negotiate another reciprocity pact. The differences between the two cases, however, are numerous and important, and amply account for the change.

Most important is the condition of business. Canadians are not much addicted to experimentation in government policy, but they can be induced to try it when times are bad. They have no special objection to reciprocity as a trade policy, but they object to the dislocations caused by its inauguration. In 1911, times were not bad; they were very good indeed. True, far-seeing economists realized that times were going to be less good, that the era of railway expansion was drawing to an end; and it was this consideration which motivated the Laurier Government in making the 1911 agreement, which they did not expect to put before the people in a general election until 1913. But the Conservatives forced an immediate appeal to the people; and the result showed that the Conservatives were right, and that the people do not like to have their trade arrangements monkeyed with when they think they are doing well.

In 1935 the Canadian electors did not think they were doing well; they were willing to try almost anything.

Other important factors in 1911, absent in 1935, were the insecure tenure of the agreement, the more radical nature of the changes in rates, and the belief that it would militate against the hoped-for reciprocal arrangement with Great Britain. In 1935 the latter arrangement was already an accomplished fact, and there was general realization that the American agreement, whatever it might be, would have to be compatible with the maintenance of the British one in full validity. It may be added that in 1935 Canada had had several years' experience with an exceptionally high tariff, which had conspicuously failed to restore prosperity. Therefore there was an unusual readiness to tolerate reductions in any form.

Disapproval

The Conservative Party, which has no very large membership in the present Parliament but is still by far the most important opposition party in the country at large, has taken up the position of disapproving the new agreement on the ground that Canada gives too much and gets too little. But this is a very different position from the one it was able to take in 1911. Prior to that time, both parties had maintained in their platforms, chiefly for the sake of the Western agricultural and ranching vote, a sort of pious hope that reciprocity some day might again be possible. Nothing had been done

about it for many years, the attention of the country had been largely transferred to British and European markets (partly as a result of the tremendous investment in east-and-west railway lines), and the Conservatives, at least, were known to have no particularly serious intentions about it. Nevertheless, the Liberals in 1911 felt that the Conservatives were barred from any vehement opposition to reciprocity *on principle,* by the terms of their long-standing platform plank in favor of it. In this they made a grave miscalculation, for what the Conservatives of 1911 actually did was to fight the campaign on the cry of "no truck nor trade with the Yankees" and swept the country, totally ignoring their past pronouncements.

No such campaign would have been successful in 1935 or would give promise in 1936 of future success. But in any event, the Conservatives were debarred from it by the fact that in 1934 the Conservative Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett, made overtures to Washington looking to a trade agreement to be effected by means of, and therefore presumably within the limits of, the powers conferred by Congress on the President on June 12 of that year. The party was thus on record as approving the general principle of such an agreement and could criticize only details. What it actually did, in effect, was merely to denounce the Government for failure to get the full 50% cut on quite a few Canadian products and to complain that the concessions granted the United States were far more valuable than those granted Canada.

Moderation and Stability

The fact is that the tariff changes on both sides are so moderate that any attack upon them as radically undermining either Canadian domestic industry or the preferential position of Great Britain in the Canadian market would have appeared absurd. A few representatives of industrial districts have dwelt at great length upon lists of articles, such as steel channels, reduced from 40% to 35%; metal wire, chains, and axles, from 35% to 30%; steel rails, from $7 to $6; asbestos manufactures, from 25% to 22½%; and drills from 25% to 20%. But concerning these reductions—which were automatic as the result of the transfer of American goods from the highest to the middle schedule of the Canadian tariff—one can only say that, unless the old tariff was calculated with extraordinary precision at the exact point where it would just preserve the market for the domestic producer and no more, such a very moderate shift could hardly throw open the doors to any ruinous volume of imports.

The chief attack, therefore, has been on the allegedly too-moderate character of the American concessions, and considerable use has been made of the facts that (1) Canada did not get the full 50% cut in many items, and (2) Canada gets on the whole a higher tariff rate against her products than she got under the Underwood tariff without making any reciprocal concessions whatever.

The moderate character of the tariff changes involved on both sides is probably the best guarantee of the stability of the agreement—a feature which is vastly more important to Canada than to the United States for the simple reason that any given volume of trade between the two countries must necessarily be twelve times as great *per capita* to Canadians as it is to Americans, and any given increase or reduction is proportionately more serious. The moderation of the changes gives Canadians a much stronger confidence that the agreement will not be dis-

avowed or whittled down to ineffectiveness by the United States either during, or for some time after, its three-year term; and the most-favored-nation principle—extending, as it will, to Canada the benefits of subsequent reductions granted by the United States by negotiation to other countries—allows the hope that Canada may obtain substantial further reductions from time to time.

On the other hand, the prospect of Canada by her own action withdrawing from the agreement before or after the three years is practically nil. All opposition argument against the agreement leaves open to the arguers, whenever they come into power again, to take the position that whatever harm they predicted has already been done; that any industries which were going to be ruined will have been ruined already; that the good effects of the agreement are still being reaped; and that no object would be served by Canada's withdrawal. As soon as it has been in force for a year or two, the agreement becomes part of the Canadian commercial *status quo,* and any attempt to upset it would be as unpopular politically as was the attempt to introduce reciprocity in 1911.

Moreover, there is a further factor, which, while it has not had much to do with public opinion in 1935 or 1936, would be highly influential in the event of any proposal to withdraw from reciprocity in 1938 or 1939. This is the new United States two-column tariff adopted in 1935. The differences between the two American schedules are not yet very great; but, as already pointed out, they will grow both in number of articles affected and in disparity of rates as new countries are added to the preferred list. The importance to Canada, in view of the geographical position, of continuing in this preferred list cannot be overstated.

4.

CANADA BIDS for AIR ROUTES

BY Z. Z.

ANY consideration of civil air-transport in Canada presupposes knowledge of the peculiar circumstances which have both molded and retarded its development. One aspect of this is close at hand and is daily demonstrable in the services given by air-transport in extensive and often remote areas without other means of communication. The other aspect is necessarily conjectural, but it substantiates a growing body which is convinced of immeasurable advancement in the future. This predicates a transcontinental airline and foresees geographical and political, if not actual technical, contingencies which will perforce include Canada eventually in any pay-load air routes which will be feasibly maintained between the hemispheres.

Canada is backward—it is non-existent—in transcontinental flying, but perhaps no other country has equally developed its commercial flying en-

tirely unassisted by public finance. It may be claimed that not a cent of public funds has been used to promote Canada's commercial flying, other than the annual Parliamentary appropriations for licensing, regulating, and other departmental supervision.

Canada's development essentially has been the modest performance of services of ordinary character, but of exacting demands. These services may be described as indigenous in that they are remedies of actual defects. Their uses expanded from such urgent needs as coping with forest fires or spraying infected crops on prairies. Now mails previously delivered yearly are delivered by air-mail weekly or monthly. The incommunicable barrier existing between "civilization" and the Arctic and other far-off regions has been broken down. Prospectors reach in a day by air locations they could not formerly reach in a season. Mineral areas discovered in this way became productive solely through the facilities afforded by commercial air-transport.

The reality of these services is conclusively shown by the statistics for 1935 presented to Parliament last May. Of passengers, 177,472 were transported. Of freight, 26,439,224 pounds were borne, and the loading manifests included every conceivable requirement from complete mining plants to bottles of teething medicine for babes. Of air-mail on 30 routes—some only 50 miles long, some flown down the Mackenzie Basin to the Arctic Sea with undeviating efficiency — 1,126,084 pounds were distributed. And inclusion of this air-mail does not contradict the statement that commercial flying in Canada has operated without benefit of Government. Air-mail is flown only in districts without rail communication and was carried, according to the Postmaster General, at a profit to the Post Office on each route. The entire cost to the country in air-mail contracts in 1935 was only $267,738.

Proper perspective has to be maintained when estimating the progress in civil flying in Canada. It has to be remembered that Canada has 414 commercial air pilots and their 336 commercial aircraft, while the United States has 8,000 pilots and their 7,200 aircraft. But if pride in Canada's actual progress be justifiable, prudence is needed in broaching that other aspect of Canadian civil aviation which concerns a transcontinental airline. It must govern the ultimate disposition of Canada in world flying.

A Transcontinental Line

A survey of an airline from Halifax to Vancouver was made eight years ago, and a prairie air-mail service between Winnipeg and Edmonton and Calgary was started two years later as the tentative first section of a transcontinental airline. Financial reasons were later given for rescinding all interurban and other main air-mail contracts, and for some three years there has been complete cessation of even partial transcontinental air-mail operation. However, physical construction of the airline was not wholly stopped with the cessation of air-mail operation, but was continued in a haphazard way as part of a national relief scheme.

There ensued a demand for removal of all civil aviation from military influence, and a resolution submitted to Parliament implies that control of civil aviation will be transferred from any association with the military Department of Defense to a civil Department of Transportation. A fresh impetus is expected to be given the promotion of civil flying if this transfer proves as organic as is contemplated.

Establishment of a transcontinental airline is now a policy receiving the at-

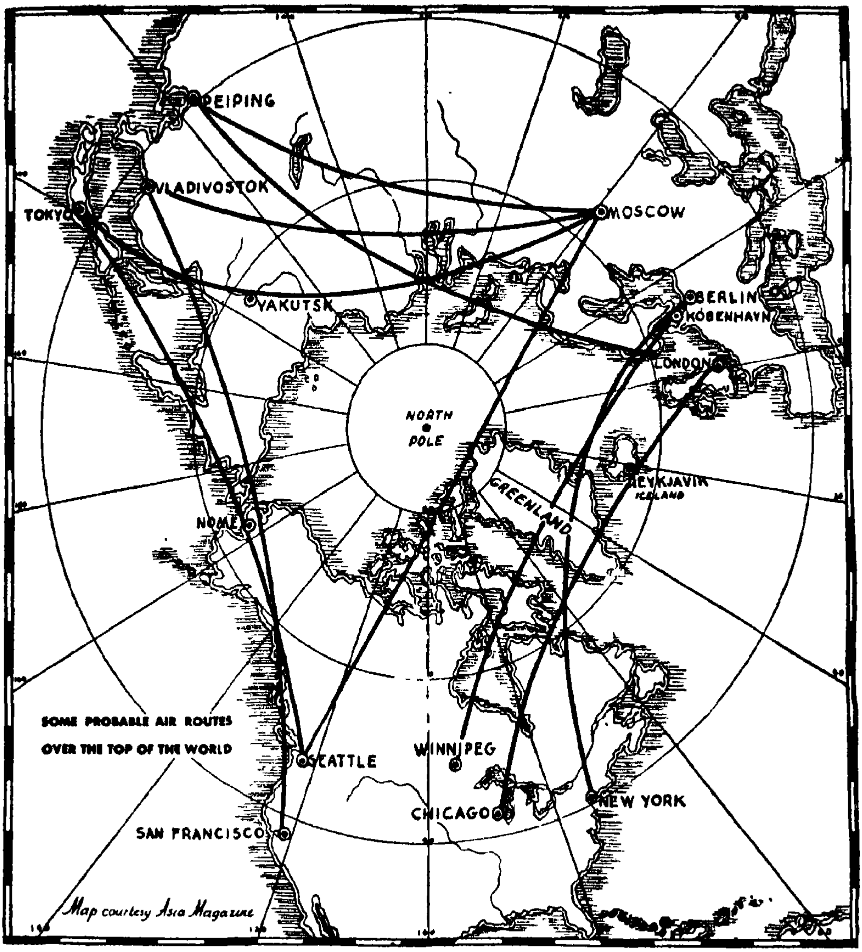
tention of the Government. A capably operated transcontinental airline is frankly desired to retain to Canada air-traffic now lost to American airlines. Half measures in this enterprise will not placate Canadians. The transcontinental airline they mean to have established may have to be on a less luxurious scale than those operating in the United States, but there is positive insistence that its scheduled effectiveness equal that of any other country's system. This should be possible. The problem of flying and operating a perfectly organized airline will be inconsequential compared with the impediments to flying in a northern climate over terrain where wheels, floats, and skis are interchangeable, and especially where there has been no provision of those most elementary aids to every other means of transportation found in all other parts of the Dominion.

The importance of the transcontinental airline is commensurate only with the strategic importance Canada may command for the final establishment of the air routes between the hemispheres. The British, American, and Canadian experts who conferred at Washington last December agreed to a joint operation between Imperial Airways and Pan American Airways which proposed flying the North Atlantic at its widest by way of Bermuda and the Azores, and at its foggiest by way of Newfoundland to Ireland. The extension of that proposal is to connect the trans-Atlantic service with the Pacific air route already laid across the Pacific nearly to China. Pressing competitive reasons may have made this expedient, but by adopting the plan both the British and the American flying interests ignored advantages Canadians believe they possess for air routes either to Europe or to the Orient.

North to the Orient?

Many Canadians are convinced, however, that before the world's principal air routes can be laid permanently, there will be more universal realization that Mrs. Charles Lindbergh perhaps was unconsciously more prophetic than she imagined when she entitled her charming book, *North to the Orient.* A few reasons for this surmise may be given: The shortest way to China lies across Canada, and by that route Shanghai, say, is approximately 4,000 miles nearer than by the route now being flown from New York across the Pacific. The Canadian route is not unproved. It is being flown daily. This means that for nearly two thirds of the intercontinental flight the dangers of flying the Pacific at its widest are avoided, and profitable payloads can be borne in machines of ordinate cost. Time and space are reduced, and the public's demand for maximum safety is satisfied. But Canada's strategic geographical superiority is not limited to the route to the Orient. Similar cardinal advantages as those referred to, but with even more impressive confirmation, may be attested in the northern route across Canada which extraordinarily cuts time and distance, diminishes hazard and increases pay-load, between Europe and the Orient.

These strategical advantages can only be alluded to, but they are assets in geographical position and in unexcelled flying conditions which compel Canadians to foresee that the establishment of their transcontinental airline will not merely meet a national need, but will eventually disclose to the world of aviation unanswerable compensation in points of distance, of time, of safety, of profit, and of rational organization in embracing Canadian transcontinental airlines as essential links



Prepared under supervision of Burt J McConnell

in the only likely commercially feasible air-transport communications between Europe, the United States, and the Orient.

Political considerations are probably the biggest bugbear impeding the free development of international aviation. Where foreign consent to free access to the air cannot be obtained, or can be withdrawn, air-transport cannot be extended with assurance. A survey of existing airlines in the world, no matter by whom laid or by whom operated, produces a striking conclusion. It suggests that any one of these operating systems would be less liable to interference and interruption if established along Canadian routes on the sure basis of lasting agreement with Canada.

These considerations may take the long view of the development of commercial flying in the world, but they postulate the outlook upon which Canada may be said to be basing their policy being formulated for execution.

HUNGARY

BY HUGO de LAEHNE

Once known as the "Canaan of Europe, the land of milk and honey", Hungary today is one of Europe's greatest post-war sufferers. Reduced in size, submerged in debt, and economically crippled, her story is one of a virtually friendless dependent.

Few facts and figures are needed to illustrate the plight of Hungary during the World War and since. Generally referred to as "The Canaan of Europe—the land of milk and honey," Hungary has perhaps been the victim of more suffering and loss as the result of that conflict than any other European state.

Before the war, the country had an area of about 120,000 square miles; today, the area is about 35,911 square miles. The pre-war population of the country, including Croatia, was 20 million; today Hungary has only 9 million inhabitants. More than two thirds of her territory has been lost, and more than half her population.

From the ceded territory of Greater Hungary of pre-war times, a large number of Magyars entered the country, which had been reduced in size by the Treaty of Trianon. (By "Magyars" we mean inhabitants of Magyar descent and nationality as distinct from other Hungarians—but not Magyars—such as the Slovaks, Rumanians, Serbs, Ruthenians, Germans, Croats, etc.)

The greater number of those who came were civil servants seeking reemployment by the State, perhaps because the railways, post, telephone, telegraph, gold mines, salt mines, ore mines, forest domains—in short, everything owned by the State—was lost during the war. At any rate these people demanded from present-day Hungary their pensions for previous service—for years spent in the employment of the State. And the difficulties thus created were not all. Upon a smaller, straitened Government was foisted the bulky administrative apparatus of its grander days, and added to that, a large number of civil servants had to be discharged or pensioned.

Finally, the Army was disarmed, and the entire pre-war active-officer corps and the military civil service corps were added to the pensioners. Thus, a great, unproductive burden was thrown upon the State and the taxpayer. The annual pensions amount to $65,000,000; the salaries of civil servants, to $200,000,000. These items total 60% of the budget—a colossal figure for civil service expenditure, exacted from the working population in the form of taxes. Today, Hungary asks more than half its national assets in taxes.

In order to understand the present economic situation of the country, we must note that the Hungary of pre-war times was, in a sense, the richest country of Europe. It had everything it

needed, plus that surplus which spells prosperity. Wonderful forests bordered the country like a green wreath; great oaks were its pride, and the country exported a great deal of lumber. The Treaty of Trianon, however, deprived the nation of 80% of its woodland. And today lumber must be imported—even wood for fuel. Hungary could well afford to pay all her foreign debts with the sum she must now pay each year for such importations.

To go further, greater Hungary had two gold mines; today the country has none, and gold, along with other mined products such as salt, coal, and ore, must be imported.

Economically, Hungary is, and was, an agricultural country. If she had not lost any territory, she could have recovered in short order from the results of the World War. But deprived of her natural resources, she suffers doubly under the present general economic depression, as well as from the autocracy of other European countries Hungarian agriculture gradually lost its export market. Due to the low wheat prices (Hungary grew the best wheat in all Europe) and general devaluation of agricultural products, the farmers have worked for years with a deficit; they are now overburdened with debts, and must curtail their expenses in every possible way, thus bringing about tragic consequences for the farmhands.

To illustrate the situation, a few characteristic figures may prove useful: In 1913, the average daily wage of farmhands was 60¢ (270 filler); in 1928, it was 78¢ (312 filler); in 1935, however, it was only 34¢ (137 filler). Women and children, of course, earn still less, and during the winter months they earn nothing. We find Hungarian farmhands not earning enough today to cover their most primitive needs. And let us emphasize the fact that here are involved three million people, constituting one third of the population.

The unsound distribution of land is another important factor in Hungary's agricultural situation. The high nobility possess large estates—inalienable domains up to 800,000 acres in one family. On the other hand, there is a vast number of diminutive farms ranging from two to ten acres each, and it is clear that the owners of such small areas can hardly subsist on the products raised thereon. Two million acres are in the hands of about seventy families, whereas about one million peasants and cotters must subsist on the returns of 1,800,000 acres of land. This naturally alarms the masses, and the cry for a just distribution of land becomes increasingly louder. Protests, however, are suppressed by the iron hand of the Government, and it remains only to hope that perhaps in time, the demands of the people for a better existence will be realized. Such a hope, of course, must take into account also the unusually large national budget and the debts.

For years the Government of Hungary has worked with a deficit which is covered by loans, so that the floating national debts are increasing from year to year. And there can be no talk of regulating the foreign debt. Hungary's total indebtedness amounts to $490,000,000.

Religion

In a moral and religious respect, the great loss of territory, and of lives as a result of the war brought about a renaissance. This was especially true of the Roman Catholic religion, which in Hungary has the greatest following. There is no State religion; every faith which is recognized by the State may freely follow its autonomous precepts, with the support and protection of the Government. Even church

taxes may be imposed upon followers, subsequently to be exacted by the authorities. Of course, Hungary has its share of atheists, so-called free-thinkers, but they are few.

Today 67% of the population is Catholic. Reformists, or Protestants of the Calvinist denomination, total only 21%. Lutheran Protestants and Jews have maintained their former proportions of 5%, while followers of the Greek-Oriental and Unitarian Churches make up the remaining 2%.

Although the Jewish religion is recognized by the State, anti-Semitism became prevalent after the overthrow of Communist rule. The last two governments succeeded in suppressing this trend as much as possible, but the present Goemboes régime does little in that respect. In fact, the Government itself illegally excludes Jews from appointment to civil service positions, while at the same time it appeals to banks and private enterprise to employ Jews only in proportion to the entire population.

Hungarian Jews have always been good patriots. They rendered valuable service to their Fatherland during the World War and loyally fulfilled their patriotic duties. Several weeks ago, the head of the Jewish community in Budapest publicly declared: "We are not Hungarian Jews, *but Hungarians of Mosaic Faith.*" And he is right, for Hungarian nationality is not a question of race, but of language and culture. It would be sheer madness if Hungary, in her present oppressed and dismembered condition, eliminated the Hungarian Jews from the ranks of her citizens and fighters—Jews who have been completely assimilated by the Hungarian people.

Hungary is still oppressed. Her neighbors formed the Little Entente chiefly for the purpose of keeping her down and of guaranteeing to each other the territory which Hungary had to cede as the result of the Treaty of Trianon. So there exists great tension between Hungary and her neighbors, with the exception of Austria.

Hungary had to look for new friends, and as a result, the Italo-Hungarian Alliance was formed. Italy was the first great Power of Europe which, after the World War, stretched out a friendly and helping hand to a defeated Hungary. The gesture led to the alliance with Rome and later to the inclusion of Austria in the newly formed Pact of Three. Italy and Austria are today the chief importers of Hungarian agricultural products.

Still, it would be of great importance to Hungary if she could reach an agreement with her other neighbors of the Donau Basin in order to get back her former outlet for export goods and in order to put an end to chicanery and economic conflicts.

❖ ❖ ❖

Hungary has always been a country of freedom, liberalism, and democracy. It is true that the present Government shows a lust for dictatorial power, but it will not succeed in establishing an absolute dictatorship. The Constitution of Hungary is more than 700 years old—only fifty years younger than the English Constitution. And the Hungarian people, accustomed to liberty, adhere to the provisions of the Constitution. Even though European dictatorships are in vogue at present, in this writer's opinion, no dictatorship ever will be established in Hungary.

—a commemoration, and a reminder, of a man and of a struggle. The man died exactly 100 years ago. And the struggle . . .

MADISON *and the* CONSTITUTION

BY HERBERT HARRIS



© New York Public Library

JAMES MADISON
1751–1836

In 1811 the up and coming American author, Washington Irving, was "whirled" from New York to the capital in 52 hours to attend a Presidential ball. He was very much impressed with the brilliancy of the occasion. He was even more impressed by his gracious and charming hostess, Dolly Madison, whom he promptly described in a letter as "a fine, portly, buxom dame, who has a smile and a pleasant word for everybody." The First Lady's husband, however, evoked no such raptures: "but as to Jemmy Madison," Irving wrote, "Ah! Poor Jemmy, he is but a withered little applejohn."

In physical appearance James Madison—fourth President of the United States, quondam Secretary of State, transcendent member of the first House of Representatives, co-author of "The Federalist," prime mover of the Philadelphia convention, Father of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, delegate to the Continental Congress, and gentleman of Virginia—confirmed the accuracy of Irving's view.

He was a small and weazened man with a scholar's stoop, and a certain springiness of step cultivated to obscure his deficient size by conveying an impression of great alertness and energy. His brow was high and sloping of a kind then called noble; and in conversation he had the habit of clasping his hands behind his back and peering at his companion out of deep-set blue eyes, which often seemed clouded over by a faraway look and, at other times, acquired the intensity of cold blue flame. He dressed with monkish simplicity: black knee breeches, black silk stockings, black shoes with plain buckles; and his hair, though powdered, was bunched back into a brief and stubborn queue, the despair of Washington barbers.

His mien was serious; and there was

about him always an air of detachment, as if, while in the battle, he was also above it, poised between the world of passing alarums and passions and the world of philosophy and the long view. His manner was mild, almost demure, yet held dignity and ease. His voice was soft and his wit dry, sometimes bawdy, and too overlain with classical allusions to be anything but caviar to the general. He never developed any interest in horse-races, cock-fighting, wrestling matches, whist for moderate stakes, or other similar and almost mandatory diversions among well-born Virginians in his time. Although he liked his port and his madeira and was a connoisseur in apple brandy, the tavern drinking bouts found him at home, with a book.

Yet what he lacked in stature and social grace, he more than made up by his intellect, his erudition and his political vision, at once profound and prophetic, and surviving the rigors of time. In the early history of American government, he was the apostle of reason, logic's evangel. His career epitomized pure intelligence applied to the problems of statesmanship—an explanation perhaps of why, a hundred years after his death, his popular fame fails to approximate his importance in shaping the principles and practices of American politics.

Youth

James Madison was born at Port Conway in King George County, Virginia, on March 16, 1751, the first of ten children in a family which he himself has depicted as "not among the most wealthy in the country, but in independent and comfortable circumstances." He was ably schooled by a Glasgovite, Donald Robertson, even if in later years he had cause to refer ruefully to his "Scotch French" in which Highland burr and Gallic aspirate were inextricably mingled with the native accents of Virginia.

In 1769, at eighteen, he entered the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) and began in earnest his unending quest for knowledge. He wanted to *know*. His intellectual curiosity rode him like an Old Man of the Sea. He kept burrowing among a welter of texts, treatises, pamphlets, documents on government and on history, steeping himself in Aristotle and Plato, Herodotus and Plutarch.

It nearly killed him. He had been a puny child and was then a frail youth; and his custom of sleeping only three hours a night and devoting the rest of his time to study, did more to delight his professors than improve his health. His only relaxation was an infrequent cup of cheer and participation in the debates held by the college's "American Whig Society," which he had helped to form. When he received his degree, he stayed on for another year—taking up Hebrew and theology, an ironic pursuit for a man who was to use his grounding in religion to deal the Established Church of Virginia a mortal blow. His absorption in questions of divinity seems mainly due to an attack of melancholia, mantling him with morbid thoughts. It was, at least in part, the *Weltschmerz* of the graduate who feels himself equipped to do something in the world, but as yet hasn't found out what.

He was not well, of course. His burnings of midnight oil had worn him down. He was also beginning to suffer from the gastric disturbances which were to plague him throughout his career. He acquired the conviction that he could not "expect a long or healthy life" and that it was therefore idle to interest himself in anything which, to use his own phrase, "would be useless after one has exchanged time for eternity." He returned to his father's

plantation in Orange County, Virginia, pondering over many religious tomes and teaching the "rudiments of literature" to his younger brothers and sisters.

Revolt and Order

Then came 1775, shrill of fife and roll of drum, and the militia swinging down the road past his door. The tumult and challenge of the struggle against the mother country roused him from his celestial concerns. Promptly he became Chairman of Orange County's Committee of Public Safety; and for more than forty years thereafter he moved, a serene and central figure, through the strident, changing, turbulent scenes which marked the liberation of the Colonies and the Founding of the Republic.

In 1776 he was elected to the State Legislature; and his first contribution to *Realpolitik* was to inscribe upon Virginia's statute books the celebrated clause: "all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience."

It was on this occasion also that he first collaborated with Jefferson, forming the most intimate and enduring friendship of his life. They made a strange pair—the sloppy, sprawling Jefferson, an impetuous and versatile genius with his somewhat murky mind and his flair for making the large generalization from premises often more vague than valid; and the neat little Madison, specialized and dispassionate, gathering the facts and yet more facts, analyzing them, fitting them into a coherent design with infinite patience and skill. Many historians still regard Madison as merely an echo of Jefferson's grand voice. Yet it remains significant that Madison's three greatest feats were accomplished without Jefferson's aid or approval: calling of the Philadelphia convention to draft the Constitution, framing its essential measures, and obtaining its ratification. It is upon this triple achievement that his just fame should rest.

Congress and the States

As a member of the Continental Congress from 1780 onward, Madison well realized the inadequacy of the Articles of Confederation under which the sovereign States had joined together for common defense against England, and under which they continued to operate after Yorktown. He didn't agree with Jefferson that "man was a rational animal endowed by nature . . . with an innate sense of justice and that he could be restrained from wrong and protected in right by moderate powers confided to persons of his own choice." The idea was lovely, even lofty, but when applied, it didn't work. The powers then granted to Congress were so moderate as to be meaningless and furthermore were overshadowed by the State governments, more jealous of their own authority than Othello of his wife. To begin with, the Congress had no power to control commerce. It was therefore unable to put down the tariff and tonnage warfares then raging between the States. Connecticut imposed heavy duties on all "imports" from Massachusetts. New York exacted entrance and custom-house fees on every load of firewood or dozen eggs carried by a Jersey market boat from Paulus Hook to Cortlandt Street. Maryland and Virginia engaged in bitter disputes as to who actually owned navigation privileges on the Potomac River. Besides, Congress couldn't levy taxes. It could only go, hat in hand, to the various State legislatures and beg for funds with which to pay even the interest on the public debt. It received the treatment usually accorded to mendicants—told to wait. And daily it became more destitute. The

delegates themselves were more like envoys from foreign nations than members of a single parliament." Congress could pass laws, of course; but it could do nothing to enforce them. The "Articles" had failed to provide for any strong central executive, or scheme of national courts. Congress wrung its hands when disgruntled soldiers rioted in Philadelphia, and nearly sacked the town. It stood by, arms upraised in helpless horror, when the Shays rebellion flared through Massachusetts. Inevitably a Congress unable to command the loyalty and support of its own people could hardly hope to gain the respect of other nations. Spain closed the mouth of the Mississippi to American shipping; and in Florida, her officials rather enjoyed the raids made by Seminole Indians across the border into Georgia. England refused to relinquish forts and fur-trading posts in the Northwest until private debts due British merchants were paid in full and American Loyalists reimbursed for all property confiscated during the war.

The monetary situation was chaos worse confounded. Printing presses everywhere were run in a spirit of abandon; and the value of paper money depreciated to such an extent that in 1787 Jefferson paid his physician $3,000 for two visits and spent another $355.50 for three quarts of brandy

To Madison, with his hatred of confusion and disarray, conditions were not only a preface to anarchy but also pointed towards a future in which the Thirteen States would become thirteen separate and separating sovereignties, each with its own laws, its own army, its own proud parochialism and, moreover, subject to all the rivalries and discords which for centuries had bathed Europe in blood. He could think of little else but this grievous state of uncertain union. He was sure that something drastic and far-reaching had to be done, lest the nascent republic expire but a short while after its emergence. He was obsessed by the necessity for finding a way out. During the day he would question farmer and wheelwright, merchant and planter, seeking suggestions, gaging the complaints of people in all walks of life; and at night, puffing at his churchwarden pipe, he would sit alone, pondering the problems of American trade, and its relation to the techniques of government.

Groundwork

The navigation quarrels between Maryland and Virginia gave him the opportunity he wanted. In 1785 commissioners from both States had met and urged the adoption of uniform tariff schedules on both banks of the Potomac. There was a further complication, however, more important in the long run than the proper division of river revenues. For some years migration had been sweeping over the Alleghenies westward towards the sea. Since Spain still dominated the Mississippi Valley, it was probable that the United States could not retain its hold upon the new settlements unless commercial bonds between East and West were at once strengthened and enlarged. To attain this objective the Potomac Company was formed. It promptly laid plans to connect the waters of the Potomac with the Ohio by means of canals and good roads. In order to advance this undertaking, Delaware and Pennsylvania, in addition to Maryland and Virginia, were forced to reach an agreement on the laws for regulating traffic through the proposed new waterways. From this necessity for cooperation arose the notion that it would be very desirable for the Thirteen States to hold a convention and try to resolve commercial

conflicts for their mutual aid and benefit. When the suggestion was forwarded from the Maryland legislature to that of Virginia, Madison rejoiced. He felt that, at long last, reason was beginning to prevail. His jubilation was short-lived. Although the convention was held on September 1, 1786, at Annapolis, only five States—New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Delaware and Pennsylvania—were represented. Maryland had forgotten all about it; and the other seven States had simply ignored the whole business.

The meager attendance discouraged everyone, especially Madison who had been sent by Virginia and who had held such high hopes. With his practical sense he recommended that all action be deferred until more favorable public attitudes could be awakened. The meeting quickly adjourned—not, however, until it had drawn up an address to the States, calling for a second convention to be held in May, 1787, and which would have as its avowed purpose to "devise such provisions as shall appear necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the union."

In assembling this conference, Madison worked day and night. He wrote letters high-lighting its importance to everyone he thought might be of help in fostering public approval for its aims. He lobbied for it, spoke for it, lived for it. And at that fateful meeting of the fifty-five in Philadelphia, it was his vast knowledge of political theory and management, his willingness to compromise, and his lucid and irrefutable arguments which did more than the activity of any other person to lay the groundwork for the American system of government. He also appointed himself as unofficial secretary to the proceeding; and for 126 days without missing a session, he took his seat before the chairman's dais and set down remarks and speeches in his own shorthand, often staying up half the night to transcribe such minutes while they were still fresh in his mind. His "Journal" is the only reliable record of what happened at the convention, and why.

The Virginia Plan

Before going to Philadelphia, Madison had submitted to his Virginia colleagues the outlines of his invention, known as the "Virginia Plan." Edmund Randolph, then Governor of Virginia, and nominal leader of his State's delegation, presented this bold and original program at the convention, and delivered the first speech commending its virtues. But it was Madison's handiwork, from start to finish; and with certain modifications and improvements it formed the very essence of the Constitution as it was finally adopted.

In brief, the Virginia Plan called for the establishment of a new national government, operating directly upon individuals instead of only upon the States. Thus, to the State governments then in vogue, Madison superadded another government, complete in itself and directly representing the people. It was to function as their agent and guardian; and since it was to be their own creation, it could tax them, judge them, and otherwise regulate their private and collective affairs. The State governments were to retain all powers of a residual kind, that is, all which were not expressly delegated to the central body by the terms of this new compact. In the last resort, the Federal authority was to be supreme.

It is this conception of two co-existing spheres of government, separate yet symbiotic, that marks Madison as the most creative and constructive political scientist in American annals.

As John Fiske has pointed out, it transformed our entire polity from what the Germans call a *Staatesbund* into a *Bundestaat*—or, from a Band-of-States into a Banded State. Even today this Madisonian doctrine of federal primacy remains bedrock and battleground in all questions of State rights as against the prerogatives of national government.

In "The Federalist," written with Hamilton and Jay to win support for the new Constitution, Madison's views are stated with exquisite clarity and precision. It is only fair to observe that although he composed but 29 of the 85 papers in the "Federalist" series, the most abstruse and difficult part of the job—that which dealt with the origin and development of Federal Government in general, and its application to America in particular—fell to his lot. His lifelong study of ancient, medieval, and modern confederations enabled him not only to create telling arguments for his immediate cause, but also to produce what still remains America's most momentous achievement in political philosophy.

Madison went to fundamentals. He refrained from fantasy, monarchical and republican alike. A typical quotation must suffice: "those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors and those who are debtors fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations * * * The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation. . . ."

Even after the convention had adjourned and the Federalist essays were published, Madison's work for the Constitution was not yet finished. The document had to be ratified by a majority of the States; and in Virginia there had sprung up a powerful opposition led by such rhetorical titans as Henry and Tyler. When the ratifying assembly was convoked in March, 1788, the foes of the Constitution far outnumbered its friends. In the debates that followed, Madison had to enter the lists against a half dozen of the most persuasive and colorful speakers of the day. He despaired of the outcome. He had no personal magnetism, his style was dry, his delivery often a mumble. Yet he was a formidable opponent. If ability to convince is eloquence, then, according to John Marshall, Madison was the most eloquent man of his era. Every day for a month he stood in the chamber, gazing into the depths of his big black hat where he had placed his notes, parrying the thrusts of his assailants, and piercing their own armour with adroit, sure strokes. By sheer force of his luminous logic, he routed the flamboyant Henry, the thundering Tyler, and their liegemen and satellites. By a vote of 89 to 79, Virginia ratified the Constitution, insuring its adoption as the transcendent law of the land.

And with this victory at the age of 38, Madison had reached the apogee of his career. The rest of his life was in the nature of an anti-climax, even though he became Secretary of State and served two terms as President. He died on June 28, 1836, at his home in Montpelier, Virginia, in his eighty-fifth year.

—meeting the needs of the small-town Russian citizen

Small Business in the *Soviet*

By JOSEPH H. BAIRD

The capitalistic world has heard much, since Joseph Stalin electrified it with his announcement of the first Five-Year Plan in 1928, of Soviet Russia's accomplishments in the field of heavy industry. Dneiprostroy's giant turbines and the belching blast furnaces of Kuznetz have had their historians and even their poets. Elaborate rotogravure booklets issued by the Soviet Government periodically have described in words and pictures the rapid pace of the new Russia's advancement in building steel mills, locomotives, automobiles, tractors, workers' homes and the other bases of the new industrial state.

It was natural, of course, that foreign interest should center on the more spectacular and massive side of Russia's effort to create a modern industrial nation on the foundations of a backward, agrarian country; particularly so, as these things were being done under a system of economics and government which seemed to constitute a challenge to the rules and patterns of economic development which the other western nations had followed since the Industrial Revolution.

Equally, it was natural that the new masters of Moscow, proud as a growing youth of each succeeding accomplishment, should turn the spotlight of publicity on their more gaudy achievements rather than the humbler side of their economy.

Yet many times during my two and a half years as a foreign correspondent in Russia, I have seen tourists, fresh from the routine march through rolling-mills, automobile factories and model workers' homes, turn, with a perceptible start, as one who suddenly remembers something, and ask: "But how do the Russians live? Where do they buy their food? Where do they have their hair cut? If their cars break down, who fixes them? If they are away from home, where can they find lodging—and who operates the hotel? Where do they get household equipment—and who makes it? In short, what is the machinery for supplying the average small-town man with his daily wants—and how and by whom is it run?" These questions can be answered only by a study of local as compared with national economy in the U.S.S.R.

The end of the NEP period in 1928 and Stalin's subsequent determination to "build socialism" posed a serious problem for the Soviet Government.

When, seven years earlier, Lenin had retreated in his campaign for militant communism and let down the flood-gates for private enterprise, a whole army of small traders and independent artisans sprang up over night. In the era between the beginning of NEP and the first *Piatelctka*, the Russian became dependent on the individual profit-taker for the necessities of life. Save that large industries and natural resources were administered by the State, life in the new Russia at that time was not vastly different from that in a capitalistic country.

Consequently, when Stalin and his colleagues on the *Politbureau* set out to socialize Russia, they were confronted with the formidable task of scrapping a machine of supply and services built on the individualist system and substituting one founded on socialistic principles. It was no easy task, no one-day job, if complete chaos was to be avoided. It was, in fact, much like rebuilding an old bridge while keeping the traffic flowing.

Yet, after eight years, the men in the Kremlin can boast that virtually every supply of goods or services in the Soviet Union has been, at least partly, socialized. The word "virtually" is used advisedly, for there are still tailors, tinkers, plumbers, teachers, musicians, writers, etc., who ply their trades or practice their professions on an independent basis. Yet most of these are organized into *artels*, or, at least pay sizable dues to their trade unions, to whom they are responsible. And the important truth, from the Marxist point of view, is that although they may exploit their own skill or talents for profit, they cannot capitalize the labor of others.

"All power to the Soviets," said Lenin, and the student of the economic life of Russia's towns and small cities—as contrasted with the national, large-scale, economic system—will find that both its energy and control lie in these rough approximations of an American town council — approximations, save that their power is much greater.

Starting A Hotel

Take, for example, some instances of how the daily needs of a Soviet citizen are met. Select, merely for purpose of illustration, the thriving town of Tula, some hundred miles south of Moscow. The Tula Soviet, viewing the increasing influx of transients and the crowded condition of the city's hostelries, decides that a new hotel should be built. The Town Fathers—to use an Americanism—call on one of their divisions, the Department of Municipal Economy, to make concrete plans for the new hotel.

An architect, perhaps permanently employed by the Soviet, is ordered to furnish the blue-prints. They are approved. Then there arises the problem of financing. The Soviet goes to the local branch of the State Bank, presents its plans, shows convincing reasons why the hotel is needed and why it may be expected to profit, and obtains a loan of, say, 1,000,000 rubles to pay for its construction and provide a surplus for operation until such time as it begins to pay its own way.

Once the hotel is completed, an executive staff is needed. The Soviet, or its Department of Municipal Economy, name the manager and perhaps his first assistant. (Usually, Communist Party members of proven loyalty are selected for these posts, for hotel executives are expected not only to operate their inns on an efficient basis but also to watch arriving guests, determine their reason for being in town, and report promptly to the secret police activities of a counter-revolutionary nature.) The staff—waiters, chamber-maids,

bell-boys, and other employees—are selected by the manager, just as in a capitalistic hotel.

When preparations are completed, the Soviet authorizes the new hostelry to open for business. It determines the rates to be charged and other regulations of the establishment. Guests arrive, money begins to flow in, and, at the end of the first six months, the management reports to the Soviet a profit of 25,000 rubles.

That is what the manager reports. But how is the Soviet to know there has been no defalcation? To guard against theft from State and Soviet enterprises there is maintained in Moscow an organization which, next to the OGPU (recently incorporated into the NKVD, the Russian letters for People's Commissariat of Home Affairs), is the most-dreaded in all the Soviet Union. It is the Commission of Soviet Control, a super-auditing department, which keeps a finger on the pulse of the nation's finance and economy. Representatives of the commission are maintained throughout the entire Union, one being stationed in nearly every city and town of importance.

These men, according to popular report, have their secret agents in virtually every office and factory. They work in close cooperation with the NKVD. And the manager or bookkeeper who has juggled figures to his own advantage never knows at what moment an agent of the commission may appear suddenly to demand an accounting.

Theft of State money or property is one of the most serious crimes which may be committed by a Soviet citizen. Often it results in the death penalty, or "the highest measure of social justice", to use the official Soviet phrase. Yet, strangely enough, despite the severity of the courts in dealing with those who reach into the public coffers, *Pravda* and *Isvestia* almost daily report the trial of some embezzler.

So, if the manager of our hypothetical Tula hotel is found to have enriched himself from the institution's money, he is promptly turned over to the Public Prosecutor. Soviet trials are swift; Soviet justice is stern. And the official is soon likely either to face a firing squad or to sit in a prison cell.

But suppose the manager is honest and capable, the stream of guests ample, and the hotel's business generally satisfactory. Then as profits come into the Soviet, its original 1,000,000 ruble note at the State Bank is paid off with interest, and eventually the hotel becomes the unencumbered property of the Tula. Soviet. From then on its profits may either be diverted into the general treasury, used to improve the hotel, or employed in building another one. Contrarily, if the institution loses money consistently and the Soviet decides to close it, the resulting loss must be borne by that body and the State Bank repaid from other sources of revenue.

Thus, it is interesting to note, the principles of financing and operating the hotel are not very different from those which would be followed in a capitalistic country. The Soviet acts in much the same manner as a board of directors and stockholders. Of course, the important difference is this: whatever profits accrue go not to individuals but to the State, or its subdivision, the Tula Soviet.

And a Garage, for Example

In general, the principles of organization, control, and finance which govern the opening and conduct of our theoretical hotel would apply also to any institution of a purely local character.

There are other classes of civic enterprise which do not fall always under

the jurisdiction of the town Soviet. Take, for instance, that prime necessity of every motoring Russian, a garage. Until recently the number of automobiles in the Soviet Union was relatively small, and most of them were owned by Government departments, trusts, and State or collective farms. Now, however, with the giant automobile plants at Moscow and Gorki stepping up their production into the hundreds of thousands a year, some individuals are becoming car-owners

A garage in Tula, for instance, may fall into one of three categories of ownership and operation. First, nearly all the large factories, trusts, and Government departments have their own garages, which operate as an integral part of the institution. They store and service all machines maintained exclusively for official use. Thus the great cutlery plant in Tula would be almost certain to have its own garage to care for all the cars assigned to it.

However, the individual automobile-owner in Tula, lacking mechanical knowledge, would be dependent on one of two classes of shops: municipal or cooperative.

Just as in the case of the hotel discussed earlier, the Tula Soviet might decide that the city needed a garage Again the Department of Municipal Economy would carry out the same functions of organization, operation, and finance as in the case of the hotel.

There is, however, another type of local enterprise which falls in the twilight zone between pure socialism and individual enterprise—the cooperative. For instance, suppose that a group of trained automobile mechanics in Tula finds occupation by the State not sufficiently remunerative, or for some other reason prefers to work independently. They may band together into an *artel*, or cooperative, and open a garage of their own. Many of the smaller enterprises, such as garages, tailoring establishments, shoe-making shops, etc., fall into this category.

Profits from the undertaking, after the State has extracted its share through taxation and trade-union dues, are divided among the members. Theoretically, there is no limit on the amount of profit they may make. But the undertaking differs from a capitalistic enterprise in the sense that no labor may be hired and exploited for profit. Also, the State insists that such *artels* be composed entirely of members of one craft.

Local Industry

The salient characteristic of the two enterprises just described — the hotel and the garage—are that they are entirely local institutions. They render service to only one town. Hence they have no effect on the national economy. There is, however, still another class of enterprise which lies somewhere between the truly national industries such as steel, oil, coal, and electric production and the purely local ones. They are designed to supply not one town, but a region.

Until late in 1934 factories in this category operated under any one of several commissariats, depending on the nature of its product. The principal commissariats regulating them were those of Heavy, Light, Forest Products, Foodstuffs and Supplies. In November, however, a Government decree grouped all these enterprises under the direction of newly created Commissariats of Local Industry.

The official Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda*, explained the new policy: "The development of local industry, as distinguished from large plants under Federal control and management, is considered by the Soviet Government of great importance. The large plants have now reached a stage of

development where the attention of the country can be diverted from them, and concentrated on the encouragement of local industries, using local raw materials and fuel.

"Not only are local industrial plants depended on to increase the supply of consumption goods; their development will release a new current of energy and creative power in Soviet industry. Industry in the republic and *oblasts** (political subdivisions) with potential resources should reach a higher level of productivity and grow at a rapid rate, because of the comparative simplicity of the manufacturing processes involved and smaller sizes of the plants and mills, the quicker response to investment, and the proximity of raw materials.

"It is expected that while during the second Five-Year Plan the large-scale output of consumers' goods will increase about 22%, that of local industry will grow by 200%.*** The most important task of local industry is to utilize nearby resources of materials and fuels. On the basis of these, new plants should be set up and production of consumers' goods commenced as soon as possible. In practically every section of the country these resources exist, unused, waiting for initiative and energy to be shown."

The decree reorganizing local industry provided that:

"The Councils of Peoples Commissars in the autonomous republics and the *krai** and *oblast* executive committees shall directly govern and direct the economic and financial activities of local industry and any construction these shall undertake. They shall control the capital and working funds of these enterprises, shall establish rules for their management, and shall select the heads of departments.

"On the basis of the plans adopted by the Union Government, they shall confirm production plans and material supplies for the industries. These shall be included in the quarterly and annual plans of the Union. The Central Executive Committee of the republics is instructed to prepare at once to create the commissariats for local industry and to confirm their existence within a month."

The primary motive behind this reorganization was to make each region as nearly self-sufficient as possible and to decentralize Moscow's control. Thus, while it might be advantageous for most of the steel produced in Soviet Russia to be manufactured in Central Asia, where raw materials are abundant, it was obviously wasteful to centralize the manufacture of such things as building materials, household supplies, etc. Localization of such industries not only relieves the strain on the transportation system, one of the weakest links in Russia's economic chain, but prevents congestion of population by affording each region adequate facilities of employment.

❖ ❖ ❖

So, to revert to the specific, suppose the increase of construction in the Tula area requires the building of a new brick factory. That enterprise would not be entirely local, inasmuch as the plant might supply an area for 50 miles around the town. Hence it would be organized, directed, and financed not by the Tula Soviet but by the industrial commissariat under the Executive Committee of the *oblast* in which it was located. In each region of the RSFSR there is a representative of the Central Commissariat of Local Industry in Moscow who keeps in close touch with such enterprises. And, as

*These terms are difficult to translate into exact English equivalents. They are administrative sub-divisions. Roughly *krai* means territory, *oblast* a district.

in the case of more purely local enterprises, their books would be audited and their operation watched by the Commission of Soviet Control.

The extent of industry under such regional organizations may be gained from the fact that in 1934 in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic—only one of the seven republics of the union—463,000 workers were employed and their production was estimated at 4,000,000,000 rubles in value.*

Indeed, the entire trend in light industry at the moment appears to be in the direction of decentralization. It is the policy of the Soviet Government to manufacture in its national plants only such articles of domestic use as textiles and similar goods which can be most efficiently made and distributed on a large scale. Meanwhile, the towns and provinces are being relied upon increasingly to produce the simple daily necessities of the Soviet citizen.

*It is virtually impossible to estimate the value of a Soviet paper ruble in terms of the U. S. dollar. In 1934 the gold ruble, used for purposes of foreign trade, was worth approximately 89 cents. Rubles sold on the unofficial exchange at from 2 to 3 cents

THE *REAL* SOVIET

CURRENT HISTORY plans to take you to the real Soviet—beyond the theorizing and opinionating and into the workaday lives of its people, to tell you how they do things—then leave you to form your own opinion. Mr. Baird, former United Press Correspondent in Russia, will appear again in *Current History* shortly. Next month, Albert Handy of New York University will explain the tax system of the Soviet. His article was originally intended to appear in this issue.

WORDS without MUSING

Political terms defined (?) by those who will vote on them.

BY WILLARD L. WIENER

ONE of the simplest ways to confuse a man, while attempting to enlighten him, is to talk to him in a language he thinks he understands—usually his own.

Words, like facts, are stubborn things, and once dropped loosely from the lips of a speaker, have a way of getting out of control. Even though a speaker may have some idea of what he is talking about, his listeners usually are not apt to give his words their dictionary value.

It was Napoleon who said that words were invented to conceal men's thoughts, and even Byron, lost in the wilderness of loosely uttered words, cried out: "Please explain your explanation!"

Definitions and a little plain speaking, it seems, are in order. With the country on the eve of a vigorous national political campaign, "We, the People" are expected to go to the polls in November to register approval or disapproval of important national issues. As members of the electorate we have a right to know exactly what these issues are, and to protest at the deluge of generalities for which we are asked to furnish our own definitions.

What are we to understand campaign orators to mean when they say that this is a "liberal" platform; that this candidate is a "Progressive"; that this one is a "Tory"; that this way leads to fascism, that to communism?

Members of the electorate, of course, have their own individual views. But are they the correct ones? Do they actually reflect the views which the special pleader means to convey, or are words used in one sense to connote another?

To get some of these individual views, to set them up alongside each other, to see how, if at all, they differ, a mild kind of survey, in no way exhaustive, was made. If anything, it was just a superficial pecking at the crust of public opinion. Several members of the electorate in various walks of life, selected at random and in the most haphazard fashion, consented to give their definitions of some of the more usual words and phrases heard on the air and seen in the press in connection with the current political picture.

Each of those interviewed, including a housewife, a New York Supreme Court Justice, a cigar salesman, an elevator operator, a school teacher, and others, were asked to understand that these words and phrases were to be considered in their political significance. They were asked simply to state what, if anything, these words and phrases meant to them. Under no circumstances were they to "guess" at their meaning. Of those inter-

viewed all are citizens, although all of them were not born in the United States.

The first question asked, What is meant by the Constitution of the United States?

The elevator operator, born in Italy, a voter in the United States for the past twenty-one years, said: "They are the laws you have to obey."

The cigar salesman, a native New Yorker, a voter for twenty years, said: "It means nothing. It is nothing. Scrap it. Rewrite it. Nine old fogies decide a question. If it doesn't concern me, it's constitutional. If it does, then it isn't. They ought to rewrite it to bring it up to the automobile age."

An assistant manager of a large department store, born in St. Louis, and a voter for eighteen years, said: "The original laws by which the judicial body of our Government were guided in making decisions, and under which the citizens of this country are governed."

The school teacher, a native New Yorker and a voter for sixteen years, said: "The Constitution is the bill of rights framed years ago by the leaders of the country, and in my opinion reflects the conditions of that time and cannot cover conditions of present-day society."

The New York Supreme Court Justice, a voter for thirty years, said: "The Constitution is the instrument adopted by the Constitutional Convention and ratified by the States."

A lawyer, born in Rumania, a voter in the United States for thirty-one years, said: "The fundamental and supreme laws governing the nation and/or the States."

The housewife, born in New York and a voter for eleven years, said: "The original laws of the United States, and those added to them."

A dentist, born in Poland but who came to the United States at the age of three and has been a voter for fifteen years, said: "It is the laws on which this country was founded."

A manager of a liquor store, born in St. Louis and a voter for eighteen years, said: "The laws of the land. The by-laws upon which the original form of our Government was founded. But it doesn't mean very much today."

Each was asked, What is a Progressive? Here are the answers:

Cigar Salesman: "That means getting away from old party lines for something more sensible."

Housewife: "One who is well acquainted with modern theories, sound ones, excluding fads."

Liquor Store Manager: "A man who is an independent thinker, and who recognizes the needs for such changes as are constructive to meet the times through which we pass."

Dentist: "One who likes a change in the order of things."

Teacher: "One who recognizes the growth of institutions and thought.'

Assistant Department Store Manager: "A liberal."

Supreme Court Justice: "A man who believes in giving the people generally a larger share in the Government."

Lawyer: "One who looks forward to the improvement of general conditions."

The term "radical" disclosed a wide difference of opinion:

The liquor store manager thought it was "such a big question" he would rather not answer it. The housewife

said: "That's a funny one", but continued her definition:

"One who is ready to try the newer theories of Government; to experiment with them."

Lawyer: "Anyone who desires to change the present social system from top to bottom."

Supreme Court Justice: "An exaggerated progressive."

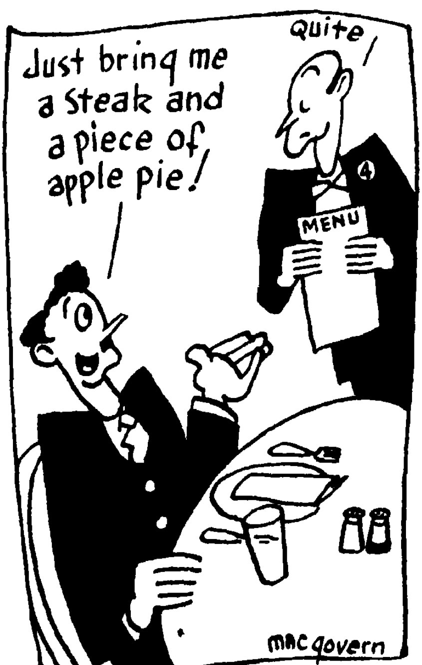
Assistant Department Store manager: "One who is generally known as a left-winger, against the majority."

Teacher: "Someone who is different—who sticks out like a sore thumb."

Dentist: "One who wants to overthrow the Constitution."

"Elevator Operator: "People who don't obey the laws."

Cigar Salesman: "A man who knows what he wants but is a lunatic in the way he goes about to get it."



"TRADITIONAL *** ORDER"
"It doesn't mean anything to me . . ."

The next question was, What is meant by a Liberal?

The elevator operator said he could see no political significance to the word. "They are the people," he said, "who are more liberal with their dough."

Dentist: "One who wants the wealthier classes to be wealthier."

Teacher: "Broad-minded. But more than that. One who has a broad view —a wide horizon. Tolerant. Maybe I'm wrong."

Assistant Department Store Manager: "One whose ideas are, generally speaking, ahead of the times."

Supreme Court Justice: "The opposite of conservative."

Lawyer: "One who seeks to improve the present condition and patch up defects in the present social system."

Housewife: "One who is open-minded. One who is willing to listen to new ideas."

The subjects were then asked to define the political conservative:

Liquor Store Manager: "A dyed-in-the-wool organization man whose views are rarely dependent—whose position is largely influenced by the dictates of party."

Cigar Salesman: "A stick-in-the-mud. A dyed-in-the-wool Republican."

Elevator operator: "They are a little tighter than a liberal."

The dentist thought the conservative was "a stand-patter", and the teacher that he was "true to form", while the Justice of the Supreme Court said: "He is one who hates change and, generally being in good circumstances, would leave well enough alone."

The lawyer agreed with the bench, while the housewife added that the conservative "is not willing to change

until it is proven that we are ready to change."

We came next to the word "Tory." We asked, "What is it, who is it?"

The school teacher did not think that the word "Tory" belonged in a present-day vocabulary. "It is a throwback into history," she said. "I don't know what the present-day application of it means."

The elevator operator agreed. He said he did not understand the term. The cigar salesman, however, said that "Tory" was just another word for Conservative. The dentist disagreed. "A Tory," he said, "is one who wants reform."

The liquor store manager said that "Tory" did not mean anything to him today, but the Supreme Court Justice said it meant something very definite to him.



"SOCIALIST"

". . . the more sociable among mankind . . ."

"It refers," he said, " to a man who believes the people generally don't know how to run the Government."

What do the terms Inflation and Deflation mean?

The Supreme Court Justice said Deflation was the making of the gold dollar more valuable; Inflation, just the reverse. The school teacher said:

"Deflation means taking the value of the dollar and making it less than it is in purchasing power. But this may be Inflation."

Of Inflation, she said: "This means, I think, the putting of more dollars on the market—but not dollars in the Treasury to back up this money."

Lawyer: "Deflation means the reduction in value to the extent of the abnormal increase in value. But it means more than that. Inflation means abnormal increase in value."

The liquor store manager said he was not sure of either term, and the cigar salesman said: "I give up. These are no words for a layman."

Housewife: "Deflation means to me more of a shortage of money. I think of Inflation when prices are going up —an unsound economic basis."

Dentist: "Inflation means the decrease in the value of the standard of money, which is the dollar, and the issuance of money without any security behind it. Deflation means the opposite."

Assistant Department Store Manager: "Deflation means reducing values. Inflation means increasing values falsely."

There is the oft-used expression: The Money Changers. What are they?

Teacher: "This refers to people who profit at the expense of others through their greed."

Liquor Store Manager: "Men or business of large financial influence who, either through contributions to party, or favors or contact, are able to influence legislation, or executive policy, that will reflect to the benefit of themselves or to their interest."

Lawyer: "An opprobrious term applied to people who rig the stock market for their personal profit."

Housewife: "I think of Wall Street."

Dentist: "Bankers, financial institutions and the like."

Supreme Court Justice: "Those who deal in money as a commodity rather than in something else."

Elevator Operator: "The people who make exchanges for any foreign currency."

Political orators call attention to the "Traditional American Order." They ask, indeed implore, the electorate to "maintain the traditional American order." What is it they wish maintained?

"That's along the same idea as the Monroe Doctrine," said the elevator operator.

Cigar Salesman: "The traditional American order doesn't mean anything to me. There isn't any."

"It means law and order," said the assistant department store manager.

Supreme Court Justice: "There is no consistent tradition in American history."

"I don't know," said the housewife, "that it ever meant anything to me."

Lawyer: "This doesn't mean much, except that Tories are trying to preserve the present status or conditions to their own advantage by using a meaningless phrase."

"The 'traditional American order,'" said the dentist, "is the fundamental principle which the men who founded the Constitution laid down when this country was originally established."

Liquor Store Manager: "These are so many words used on the part of professional politicians which don't mean anything."

Teacher: "This means if it was good enough for grandma it is good enough for me—which is beans."

There is probably not a newspaper reader or radio listener in the country who has not heard of Rugged Individualism. What does it mean to "We, the People?"

"It's a way to beat labor," said the cigar salesman. "If I go out and lick the world ruthlessly at my own game —I'm a Rugged Individualist."

Liquor Store Manager: "A Rugged Individualist is one of independent thought, and whose views are never influenced by others."



"RUGGED INDIVIDUALIST"

". . . following his own inclinations . . ."

Lawyer: "A catch phrase whereby the conservatives hope to ride into office."

Dentist: "This is the belief that a man has in following his own inclination and ideas."

Teacher: "A stand-patter, best represented by the midwestern farmer. One who has his own little point of view, and what have you."

"Rugged Individualism," said the Supreme Court Justice, "is a quality, the kind that each man feels he would like to have, but which nobody has one hundred percent."

Assistant Department Store Manager: "Rugged Individualism is a theory propounded by an individual with liberal ideas and having confidence in his own convictions."

Housewife: "Where the State feels that the individuals can take care of themselves—no state responsibility."

There are Democrats and Republicans. There are also Socialists. What is meant by a Socialist?

"They are the more sociable among mankind," said the elevator operator.

"A Socialist," said the assistant department store manager, "is a liberal who believes in the division of wealth among those producing it."

Lawyer: "One who seeks to abolish private property and all wealth which is of a collective and social nature, and appropriate it and manage it for the benefit and use of society."

Housewife: "At one time it meant to me one who was interested in the welfare of the individual. But it doesn't mean anything to me any more."

Liquor Store Manager: "One who believes in the equal distribution of wealth."

Supreme Court Justice: "A man who believes in the State doing a lot of things which others do not believe, should be done by the State."

Teacher: "A man who forgets himself in the problem of the other fellow—like an idealist."

Dentist: "One who believes in spreading the wealth of the country among its citizens more evenly."

Red, politically speaking, undoubtedly denotes more than a color. Who and what is a Red?

"A Red," said the cigar salesman, "is a guy gone crazy with a color scheme. But I'm not condemning him. For all I know, there aren't enough of them in this country."

Teacher: "One who in the attempt to be forceful becomes vociferous in both words and actions."

"He is the anathema of a Tory," said the Supreme Court Justice.

"Red," said the liquor store manager, "is a word used to inject fear into weak-minded people."

"A Red," said the housewife, "is a radical—more of a revolutionist."

"It is a meaningless word," said the lawyer, "conveying a multitude of sins. Anybody you dislike."

Dentist: "One who believes in the precepts of Soviet Russia—who believes in radical change by violence in government."

"He is one who is against the majority and generally against everything," said the assistant department store manager.

Political campaigns have a way of giving prominence to the Agricultural Problem. Without going into detailed ramifications, what does the Agricultural Problem mean to the average man and woman?

"It means," said the cigar salesman, "shall we extend more credit or keep credit from the farmers? But I'm no farmer. That's their problem."

Housewife: "It means to me the overproduction of products, poor pay to the farmer, and high prices for the farm products in the city."

The assistant store manager said it meant "control of crops," and the liquor store manager said: "It is a catch phrase. I don't think it's a problem."

Teacher: "The agricultural problem is the situation of producing more than we can use. The problem is how can we meet this situation."

"The problem," said the Supreme Court Justice, "is to keep the farmers at work so that they can sell what they produce at a living wage."

Elevator Operator: "There should be more cultivation, more trees, more flowers than at the present time. They should allow more plantations."

Lawyer: "The problem is to bring the farmer's status to the same economic level of national industries."

Then we posed one on Fascism. What is it?

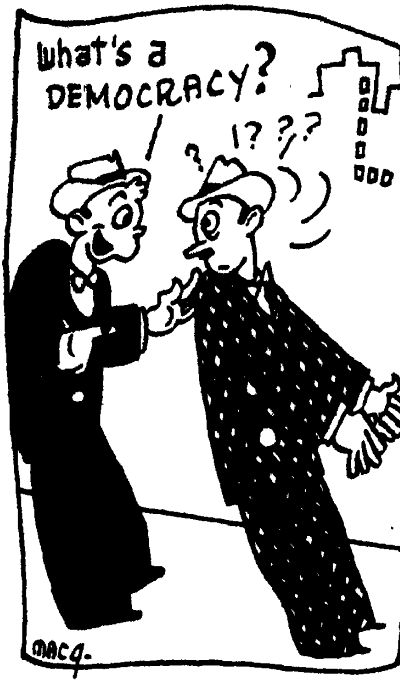
"This," said the dentist, "is an autocratic form of government, directed by a few people in high places for the benefit of big business."

Teacher: "A super-imposed dictatorial form of government. An extremely nationalistic thing as opposed to Communism which is internationalistic in scope."

Assistant Store Manager: "A government whereby the people accept and obey the dictates of a ruler, or government, without question."

Elevator Operator: "It means bring all the political parties together, making one party out of them—like the Italian government."

"I suppose," said the housewife, "that it is where a few people get control of the Government. I think of it as a reactionary form of Government—no freedom of speech."



PROBLEM

"That's a hard one . . ."

Lawyer: "Another word for autocracy."

Supreme Court Justice: "A stop-gap between revolution and security. Mussolini—that's all."

Cigar Salesman: "It's just another 'ism' to me—like Hitlerism."

The writer intended to include many more words and phrases, including "Democracy", but when the Housewife said, "That's a hard one", and when the Liquor Store Manager said, "That's a terribly misused word," the writer decided to stop, go out, buy a dictionary and look it up himself.



HONOLULU HARBOR:
Sugar and Pineapples Are the Mainstay of America's Farthest West Port.

Rufus B. von KleinSmid tells of

The Real Hawaii

—to which a bountiful nature gives more than sunshine

A SIGNIFICANT drama of human experience, presenting historical background, social achievement, and personnel as captivating as it is surprising, is being enacted in Hawaii today. It is a drama in which figure native Hawaiians, American sons of Oriental fathers, Island-born citizens of our finest old New England stock, and a varied group of descendants of European nations. It tells of aspiration, struggle and growth on a group of islands, famed as a vacation paradise, but little known in their more important commercial and military significance.

In 1898 the Republic of Hawaii voluntarily annexed itself to the United States, becoming two years later an integral part of our nation under our usual and well-known territorial organization. The Governor and Secretary of the Interior are appointed by the President of the United States. The Territory's delegate to Congress in Washington, D. C., is elected by popular vote, as are also members of the territorial legislature. Citizens of Hawaii are, of course, citizens of the United States in every respect.

This condition does not denote in any degree an annexation on our part of something foreign to our character as a democracy. It is safe to say that in no other State or territory are the traditions of democracy more indigenous, held in higher esteem, or defended with greater vigor and devotion.

But citizenship and popular acceptance of the Sandwich Islands as a playground for the care-free expenditure of vacation-time is not sufficient recognition to satisfy our fellow-citizen of Oahu, Hawaii, Kauai, and Maui. He urges as well that we realize the extremely important commercial value of the Territory, the significance of the Islands as a strategic naval base, and the weight of our military dependence upon them. Deep in the heart of the Hawaiian citizen lies the hope of reorganization of the Territory on the basis of Statehood with the privilege of electing its own officers and of being represented in House and Senate by its own suffrage.

Hawaii points out its commercial importance as likely to appeal most strongly to the common sense of Washington. Yearly production of sugar (a million tons), and canned pineapple (a million cases), representing an annual value of one hundred million dollars, tell a story all their own, and to these products are added rice in no insignificant measure, vegetables and

fruits, fish, sheep, cattle, and coffee. Kona coffee-planting, though restricted in area, still adds nine million pounds annually to the world's supply. In 1933 agricultural products shipped to the mainland alone showed a value of ninety million dollars. Indeed, it is said that the Territory of Hawaii supports more people per acre of producing land than any other minor division in the United States

Agriculture

Naturally this achievement is not brought about without unlimited labor and the application of the greatest skill in modern agricultural science. From the very early days of missionary occupation much was done to encourage agriculture and to reward agricultural success. The world was searched for seeds and plants which would find sympathetic conditions of growth in the Islands; new tools were imported or devised within the colonies for planting, cultivating, and harvesting. Cotton is an example. Hardly a dozen years had elapsed after the landing of the missionaries when they wrote to the American Board urging a definite program through which to teach the natives to improve the cotton crop and to weave cotton cloth.

"The cotton tree grows here most luxuriantly," they reported, "and the cotton is of the best kind. It therefore seems to us a most desirable object that there should be some means for manufacturing it."

As a result, teachers were sent, together with machinery, and soon the natives learned to spin and to weave.

Transportation

At no period has there been in Hawaii any lack of encouragement to adopt the most modern methods of procedure in any field of human activity. That interest and zeal so apparent in agricultural development and progress seem to have been present in the development of the institutions of commerce, education, and social welfare.

Such intensive development of natural resources has brought about rapid expansion in physical and commercial facilities. Each of the large sugar plantations, for instance, operates its own transportation service. Of the thirty-nine railway systems in the Territory, thirty-two are owned and operated on the sugar plantations, and while rolling stock may appear diminutive to the resident of the mainland and the rails light and quite easily shifted from place to place, the equipment is adequate Nine hundred miles of mainland track, practically one-third of which is portable, employs one hundred and fifty locomotives and thousands of cars. The sugar plantations alone have invested more than five millions of dollars in railway equipment. On the larger plantations, well-equipped railway shops are maintained where cars are built and repairs made.

In addition to the plantation transportation systems, seven independent railways with a total mileage of approximately three hundred and twenty-five miles are operated. On these systems, sixty locomotives haul fifteen hundred goods cars and one hundred and ten passenger coaches. Equipped with the latest devices for safety and comfort, these lines meet the needs of the four larger islands.

The rough trails of earlier days, once so nearly impassable as to drive the native to water travel, have become broad, modern highways now approximating a total of forty-five thousand miles. For the most part, they are made of concrete or macadam. On Oahu, the drive through Nuuanu Valley to the Pali, the Marine Drives to

Diamond Head and Hauauma Bay, and the trip to Manoa Valley are all taken in greatest comfort and safety over well-constructed roads. One can drive almost around the outer edge of Kauai Island and entirely around Hawaii.

Water

From field to mill on the larger plantations where plenty of water is available, the sugar cane is transported over long distances in V-shaped flumes. Many plantations have more than fifty miles of such equipment of a permanent character, while portable flumes are constructed to meet the requirements of any single year. The flume water is by no means wasted, but the irrigated sections is turned back upon the land. Where water is not available and steep inclines make railway construction prohibitive, a complex trolley system has been devised whereby bundles of cane are carried through space at a high rate of speed to the plantation mill. By this method seventeen thousand pounds of cane are received in one hour in bundles arriving at their destination at the rate of two a minute.

Water for irrigation is obtained either from mountain streams or from artesian wells. The great Waialiole, constructed at a cost of two and a half million dollars, carries water for the Oahu Sugar Company from beyond the mountains through a tunnel three miles long. The great Wailoa Ditch delivers one hundred and forty million gallons daily. The Hawaiian Sugar Company on Kauai draws its water through the Olukele Canyon, involving the use of a tunnel more than six miles long.

Those plantations which depend upon artesian wells for their water have constructed pumping stations from which by steam, diesel, or electrically driven pumps, the water is raised to great heights and confined in reservoirs from which it is withdrawn for spread over very extensive acreage. Since it is estimated that each ton of sugar produced requires four thousand tons of water, each acre must be covered to a depth approximating twenty feet in order to yield its reasonably expected crop.

While the story of sugar-growing in Hawaii reads like a romance, scarcely second in interest is the development of the pineapple industry. Little or no conflict arises at any point between the two industries. Pineapple areas for the most part are on the higher levels, since the plant does not require irrigation. Some eighty million acres are now devoted to this crop, nine canneries preparing the food for shipment to all parts of the world. Mass production and extensive advertising have brought the pineapple in some form or other to the tables of families in all walks of life.

While rice for the most part is consumed by the population of the Territory, from season to season considerable quantities are exported.

Most of the coffee grown in the Territory is produced on the Island of Hawaii adjacent to the Kona coast. Practically seventy-five percent of the entire crop is marketed in the United States.

As in other territories and States of the nation, the agricultural interests are promoted and safeguarded by scientific activities, both on private support and under federal subsidy. The Hawaiian Agricultural Experiment Station, established and approved in 1900, has lent its influence through the years toward the diversification of crops. About seven years ago a cooperative plan was organized whereby the United States, through its Department of Agriculture, cooperates with the University of Hawaii in con-

ducting an experimental station under joint control. All phases of crop-raising and animal husbandry receive attention in this institution. A considerable number of authoritative bulletins are published annually.

The leading plantation products and related industries of Hawaii show something of the growing importance of this area to the rest of the United States from an agricultural standpoint.

Education

In other lines, too, the same sort of enterprise and progress is to be observed which brought such outstanding success to the planters. The social institutions have not lagged behind. Such institutions, from the very character of the work of the early missionaries, were of the sort usually fostered by church bodies. Schools were early established under both Territorial and private control. Today the Territory engages three thousand two hundred teachers to instruct her ninety-two thousand pupils. On the higher levels, schools and colleges under private control and the progressive University of Hawaii offer opportunity for students seeking either broad cultural education or training in a limited number of professions.

As early as 1886 a library was founded in the City of Honolulu, though even prior to this libraries rich in ancient and modern material covering fiction, non-fiction, and historical publications of importance were to be found among the private schools and the homes of planters and commercial men. The Library of Hawaii was founded upon a Carnegie gift of one hundred thousand dollars and opened its doors in the winter of 1913. With a circulation approximating three quarters of a million books annually, this library maintains those standard departments to be found elsewhere in the best regulated institutions of this character.

In art galleries and museums the Territory presents unusual facilities. The early days when the missionaries figured so largely in the affairs of the Islands are represented by the Iolani as well as by the church houses and dwellings of these hardy passengers of the Brig Thaddeus. The Mission Memorial Building, used as headquarters for the organization which seeks to perpetuate the influence of the early missionaries, contains interesting material covering colonization days. The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, a memorial to the last of the Kamehamehas, was founded in 1889 by the husband of the Princess "to preserve the ethnology and natural history of Hawaii and other Islands of Polynesia." It contains some thirty thousand objects covering the most extensive collection in the world of the products of early Polynesian culture. One of the most beautiful and well-organized institutions of its character in the United States is the Academy of Arts, established in 1827, the gift of Mrs. Charles Montague Cook, herself a missionary and the daughter of missionary parents.

Among the hospitals and eleemosynary institutions are: Queen's Hospital, founded by Kamahameha IV and Queen Emma; The Children's Hospital; The Shriners' Hospital for Crippled Children; The Saint Francis Hospital; The Kalihi Hospital; The Kalaupapa Settlement for the treatment of leprosy; The Kapiolani Maternity Home; The Lunalilo Home for the indigent and aged Hawaiians; The Territorial Hospital for the insane; the Japanese Hospital, and the homes for the blind and the feebleminded.

Doubtless, however, it is in the more distinctly social projects that the greater progress is being made toward

the unification of the citizens of the Islands into a group of people with ideals in common and with understanding and purposes looking toward a more unified experience — unified among themselves and unified with their fellow citizens of the mainland. The problems involved are extremely complex and would seem at first thought almost beyond solution. Despite a seeming willingness to comingle upon the ground of friendliness and good will, the population of the Territory of Hawaii presents such a variety of racial groups, of languages, of social traditions, of political background, and of religious creeds as to make intercourse upon the common ground of mutual understanding appear to many as being merely superficial—the expression of an effort to "get along with each other" rather than a revelation of a genuine understanding and respect. The difficulties involved in this situation, however, have not discouraged the intelligent social leadership of the Territory, where as carefully developed plans of social progress as are being worked out in any other part of the United States are bringing about a gradual, orderly evolution among the heterogeneous conditions which reveal themselves.

The population presents an interesting picture. Headed by the Japanese, of whom there are almost one hundred and fifty thousand, the list shows Filipinos in large numbers, thirty thousand Portuguese, almost as many Chinese, with Koreans, native Hawaiians, Porto Ricans, Spaniards, and a broad mixture, Caucasian in origin. The problem is not to compose into a single future citizen the characteristics and qualities represented by this mixed group. True, much unusual biological mixing is taking place, raising questions which perhaps at the present time are of greater interest to the biologist than to the sociologist. The problem is rather to bring about a sympathy and an understanding among these members of the many races which will enable them to live happily and progressively with each other. It is an intriguing bit of mental exercise to conjecture just what manner of man would evolve in a wholly sympathetic social situation in the Islands. It is suggested that such a product would represent seven tenths Oriental races, two tenths Occidental races, and one tenth Polynesian. The biologists, however, are probably less given to this type of romancing than the sociologist who finds his immediate problem in promoting "the gentle art of living together."

This problem is not entirely new to the people of the United States; the mainland itself furnishes, and has furnished for many years, numberless laboratories in city and countryside for the study of just such conditions, and it must be said that the racial groups of Hawaii do not represent in themselves less promising background in origin or history, cultural achievement, and worthy ideals than like groups to be found in the States. One factor, however, must be taken into consideration, the Hawaiian groups must live together; the great open spaces of the Islands wherein men may move about and make their living are neither so great nor so open as they used to be.

Labor

In the earlier days of industrial development, the importation of labor was a genuine necessity. The rapid expansion of cultivated areas, the multiplication of factories to care for their products demanded thousands more of laborers than the native population could supply. Consequently, though the population has greatly increased in the last half century, that increase has

been drawn from the four corners of the earth and is almost entirely an alien population. Indeed, it is likely that while some fifty thousand individuals claim Hawaiian blood, scarcely twenty thousand in the entire Territory can be said to be of pure Hawaiian stock. And, since Hawaiian ancestry is a matter of distinct pride among those who possess it, there is no attempt to disclaim Hawaiian origin.

More and more it will be necessary for the Islands to develop their own laborers, a fact of which government, industry, and planters alike are conscious. Simply stated, the problem is so to organize the conditions and environment of labor that the products of the schools will be not only ambitious to train both for the shop and for the plantation, but also will be contented in the opportunities to obtain happiness and prosperity in them. In the solution of this problem, both sugar and pineapple plantations are rapidly building in order to house families in individual cottages, comfortable and sanitary, and unmarried men in group or clubhouses. In some cases family houses are sold to the workers, but for the most part this plan of obtaining title by easy payments has not proved satisfactory either to the owners or to the laborers. Many plantations now have clubhouses, each with recreation hall, gymnasium, and auditorium with theater stage. Some plantations support kindergartens at their own expense, while everywhere, conveniently located, is the public school. Each plantation town supports two or more churches. For the most part stores are operated both by private individuals and by the plantation corporation. Of course, the automobile gives ready access to towns and other parts of each island, while the radio brings the outside world to the living room of any individual or family.

Here then in one of the fairest areas in the United States of America are Americans in the making. The melting pot is again boiling in the Territory of Hawaii as for the past one hundred and fifty years it has been boiling on the mainland of the United States of America. Conditions are somewhat different, but the fundamental processes are the same. Race meets race; mixture follows mixture; creed, tradition, and custom all are modified through association with creed, tradition, and custom of different character. There is no reason to think that the experiment in the Islands will be less successful than that on the mainland has been. Whatever the future of the mainland will be, so will be the future of the Territory of Hawaii. Races, widely separated in all that goes to make up personal and communal life, can learn to live together in peace and harmony, in sympathy, and in understanding—the Territory of Hawaii is proving it.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, May 10--June 12

DOMESTIC

MAY 11—The $2,364,229,712 Deficiency Appropriation Bill, providing $1,425,000,000 for relief during the fiscal year, passed by the House of Representatives.

MAY 12—Reciprocal trade agreement signed between United States and France.

MAY 13—Frazier-Lemke Bill, providing $3,000,000,000 for farm mortgage relief, defeated in House.

MAY 14—New York State Legislature votes $15,000 for Red inquiry in the schools.

Report cost of WPA at $80 a month per person; "dole" reported to average $33 a month per person.

MAY 15—President Roosevelt outlines plan to retain PWA and Resettlement Administration.

London Naval Treaty favorably reported to House by Foreign Relations Committee.

MAY 16—Acting Secretary of State Phillips informally repledges United States to observance of Nine-Power Treaty, which guarantees China integrity.

MAY 18—Guffey Coal Bill invalidated by Supreme Court, the majority holding that interstate price-fixing provisions for bituminous coal are invasion of State rights.

United States Court of Appeals for District of Columbia rules as unconstitutional the provisions of Federal Emergency Appropriations Act of 1935, which created Resettlement Administration.

Reciprocal trade treaty signed with Finland.

MAY 19—Communists prepare for November united front with Socialists.

President Roosevelt fixes Congress with responsibility for action on relief and taxes before end of the Seventy-fourth session.

Pan American program for conference this summer in Buenos Aires includes proposal for Inter-American League of Nations.

Chrysler raises shop-workers pay; average increase 5% hourly.

MAY 21—Law barring recovery of AAA process taxes held invalid by Federal Judge Hulbert of New York Court.

Senate Finance Committee agrees on a corporate income tax of 18% and 7% undivided profit tax.

First national agreement governing disposition of employees affected by technological improvements and increased efficiency ever made in United States completed by rail and union representatives.

President Roosevelt increases tariff rates an average of 42% on imports of bleached, printed, dyed, and colored cotton cloths as result of collapse of negotiations with Japan.

Twelve directors of regional offices of National Social Security Board are announced.

MAY 22—Secretary of State Hull says nation has two alternatives. must either launch program of commercial cooperation or push world toward economic distress and military adventure.

Fifty-five hundred steel workers strike at Portsmouth, Ohio, demanding 50% wage increase and recognition of Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers as sole bargaining agent.

MAY 23—Night riders of Black Legion, Michigan secret terrorist society, believed to have killed scores of persons opposed to their fanatical patriotic cult. Hooded members, pledging themselves to "uphold Constitution," are Anti-Catholic, Anti-Jewish, Anti-Negro, Anti-Communist.

Five Tampa policemen convicted of kidnapping Eugene F. Poulnot, labor organizer.

MAY 25—United States' Supreme Court voids Municipal Bankruptcy Act under which Congress empowered municipalities and other political subdivisons of the States to readjust their indebtedness in the Federal Courts.

Norman Thomas of New York is nominated for the Presidency of the United States by the Socialist National Convention; George Nelson of Wisconsin is nominated for Vice Presidency.

Eighteen members of the Black Legion terroristic society are held for murder of WPA worker in Detroit.

MAY 26—American Federation of Labor orders industrial group, formed under leadership of John Lewis, to disband.

Socialist platform demands curb on Supreme Court's usurpation of power.

MAY 27—President Roosevelt made admin-



"IDIOT'S DELIGHT"

—United Feature Syndicate

istrator of the $1,425,000,000 relief fund for the next fiscal year under terms of Deficiency Bill.

House Committee will cite Dr. Townsend and two aides for contempt.

Michigan prosecutor asks Federal aid in the investigation of Black Legion.

MAY 28—President Green of American Federation of Labor reports 726,000 workers regained jobs in April.

MAY 29—Atlantic Coast seamen's strike (unsanctioned by International Seamen's Union) brought to a close.

House of Representatives sends $526,546,532 Navy Bill to President for final approval.

Nineteen public utility companies file joint attack on Tennessee Valley Authority in Federal District Courts of Alabama and Tennessee.

MAY 30—Senate votes funds for survey of unfinished Florida Ship Canal to consider its continuance.

MAY 31—U. S. Chamber of Commerce and *National Association of Manufacturers* attack new Guffey-Vinson Coal Bill.

JUNE 1—*S.S. Queen Mary*, Britain's new Cunarder and second largest ship in world, arrives in New York on maiden voyage.

Supreme Court of United States voids New York State Minimum Wage Law for women and children as violating due process clause of Fourteenth Amendment; decision 5 to 4.

United States Senate passes Deficiency Appropriation Bill providing $1,425,000,000 for work relief and $300,000,000 for grants and loans on public works to be expended during coming fiscal year

New Treasury issue of $600,000,000, in bonds of 2¾% yield, and $400,000,000 in notes of 1⅜% yield, is oversubscribed.

JUNE 2—President Roosevelt, commenting on Supreme Court invalidation of New York Minimum Wage Law, visualizes a "no man's land" in which neither State or Federal Government may legislate effectively

War Department mobilization plan provides for absolute control of industry and drafting of business heads in war exigency.

JUNE 3—Speaker Byrns of Tennessee, dies.

JUNE 4—Representative Bankhead of Alabama elected Speaker of the House of Representatives succeeding late Joseph Byrns.

Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin workers approves affiliation with industrial union under John L. Lewis.

Secretary Hull reaffirms American policy of non-interference in South American domestic affairs; Nicaraguan revolt to be ignored.

JUNE 5—Senate passes tax bill designed to cover premature bonus payments to veterans and meet cost of AAA invalidation.

District of Columbia Court rules power program of PWA valid.

JUNE 6—Senators O'Mahoney and LaFollette introduce bill to put all regular Government employees under permanent civil service.

Senate Munitions Committee demands Neutrality Act be strengthened.

All States, as well as Hawaii and Alaska, reported sharing under one or more of Social Security Act provisions.

JUNE 8—British notify the United States they will default on war debt payment.

JUNE 9—Republican National Convention convenes in Cleveland; Senator Steiwer denounces Roosevelt's New Deal in keynote speech.

JUNE 10—Ex-President Herbert Hoover parallels Roosevelt's New Deal to beginnings of European dictatorships in speech to Republican National Convention.

Judge Charles Boynton of West Texas District Court rules National Labor Relations Act *unconstitutional in entirety*.

JUNE 11—The Republican National Convention nominates Governor Alfred Landon of Kansas for President in unanimous first-ballot vote.

JUNE 12—Col. Frank Knox, Chicago publisher, nominated on first ballot for Vice President at Republican National Convention, after Senator Vandenberg of Michigan declines.

INTERNATIONAL

MAY 11—League of Nations Council rebuffs Italy by retaining Ethiopian delegation at Council meetings; Italy withdraws.

Pope denounces communism as "immense peril" to man.

Great Britain dispatches reinforcements from Egypt to Palestine as Arab riots continue.

MAY 12—League of Nations continues sanctions against Italy despite Italian withdrawal.

Pope denounces curbs on religion in Russia and Germany.

French veterans appeal to Germans to reconcile peoples of nations to peace.

MAY 13—Great Britain asks permission of United States and Japan to exceed destroyer tonnage limit set in the 1930 three-power naval treaty.

Revision of League considered at Geneva.

MAY 14—Prime Minister Baldwin of Great Britain requests a League of Nations reformation acceptable to United States, Japan, and Germany.

MAY 15—Guatemala quits League

MAY 16—Mussolini assures full support to Chancellor Schuschnigg of Austria.

MAY 19—Britain withdraws large battleships from the Mediterranean.

Japan announces that she has sufficient arms and men in North China in event of war with Russia.

MAY 20—Great Britain and Russia begin naval conference.

MAY 21—Prime Minister Baldwin of Great Britain warns Italy not to meddle in Egypt or Palestine.

MAY 22—Japan protests raising of United States tariff barriers on cotton.

Germany seeks to revise provision of Versailles Treaty which provides for equal treatment on her main rivers for the nationals of all powers and their property.

MAY 23—Contrabrand goods smuggled into China by Japanese and Koreans accumulates on beaches because of truck and railroad car shortage.

Thirty million Chinese reported starving in Szechuwan and Honan Provinces; cannibalism said to be common practice.

Catholic Bishops demand a ban on the Nazi Party in Holland.

MAY 24—Soviet Union desires naval parity with Germany in the Baltic; demands Japan sign limitation agreement, or Soviet will add to Far Esat fleet.

Major General Matsumuro, newly appointed head of Japanese forces, begins active expansion drive in North China.

MAY 25—Foreign Secretary Eden accuses Italians of anti-British broadcasts to India and Palestine.

MAY 26—Japan denounces Chinese preventive measures against smuggling as tantamount to anti-Japanese boycott.

MAY 27—Mussolini announces he will continue to seek amity with Great Britain.

MAY 28—Chinese students launch anti-Japanese strike.

MAY 29—Japan sends 3,000 more soldiers to North China.

League of Nations formally requests Japan curb narcotics traffic in China.

MAY 30—Chinese and Japanese accuse each other of bombing track section on railroad line from Tangku to Tientsin.

JUNE 2—Japanese officials report South China Government has issued manifesto demanding national war against Japan. The Chinese Nanking Government brands report false.

JUNE 3—Report Italian radio stations encourage Arab "revolt" against British on pretext that all subjects of British Empire are already battling for freedom.

JUNE 4—United States invokes anti-bounty clause of 1930 Tariff Act against Germany because of discriminatory trade practices.

Provincial armies of Southern China insist on warring against Japanese.

JUNE 5—Southern provincial forces of China form anti-Japanese "Salvation Army."

JUNE 9—Insurgent divisions of the Canton Army move northward toward Nanking Province of China.

JUNE 10—North China refuses to join Canton in war move against Japan.

FOREIGN

Austria

MAY 13—Starhemberg, leader of the Heimwehr, resigns as Vice Chancellor and head of Fatherland Front

MAY 15—Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg assumes command of Fatherland Front, succeeding Prince von Starhemberg.

MAY 21 — Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg made sole dictator of Austria by law promulgated by Council of Ministers.

MAY 23—Austrian Heimwehr repulses Nazi attack on castle of Prince von Starhemberg.

Belgium

MAY 25—Belgian Socialists win plurality in the Chamber of Deputies.

France

MAY 13—Communists spurn Blum plea for participation; definitely refuse to enter Cabinet.

JUNE 3—Nearly 300,000 workers strike in French industrial centers on eve of the Sarraut Cabinet resignation; Leon Blum will assume office.

JUNE 4—Albert Sarraut's Government resigns; Leon Blum reports his cabinet has been formed.

JUNE 5—Premier Leon Blum promises striking workers 40-hour week, holidays with pay, and collective labor agreements.

JUNE 6—Chamber of Deputies gives Premier Leon Blum's Cabinet enormous vote of confidence; drastic social and economic reforms are indorsed.

French strikers calm; show rigid respect for law and property.

JUNE 7—Premier Blum settles labor strike of 1,000,000 workers by sponsoring 40-hour week, paid holidays, and collective labor contracts.

JUNE 9—Premier Blum introduces bill for promised labor legislation in Parliament.

JUNE 10—French agitators continue strike despite Premier Blum's conciliation.

Germany

MAY 26—Reich places 276 monks on trial on charges of immorality.

MAY 27—German priests are sentenced for immorality; one Franciscan brother gets 8 years. Catholics say charges falsified.

JUNE 9—Germany reports number of unemployed reduced to 1,491,201.

Great Britain

MAY 22—Colonial Secretary J. H. Thomas resigns from British cabinet in face of scandal over alleged leakage of budget secrets.

MAY 28—Ormsby-Gore appointed Secretary of State for colonies, succeeding Thomas.

JUNE 2—J. H. Thomas found guilty of revealing budget secret that led to £100,000 insurance company losses.

Irish Free State

MAY 28—Irish Dail approves De Valera's motion to abolish Irish Senate.

Italy

JUNE 6—Mussolini restores soldiers to Brenner Pass on Austrian border.

JUNE 9—Mussolini relinquishes three of seven Cabinet posts; his son-in-law, Colonel Ciano, appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Palestine

MAY 14—Arabs plan to launch civil disobedience campaign.

MAY 15—Palestine riots continue with one killed and 13 hurt at Jaffa.

MAY 17—Disorders curbed in Jerusalem by curfew law

MAY 18—British commission to study Arab-Jewish disorders.

MAY 21—Arabs and British troops in battle near Palestine.

MAY 26—Arabs fight British troops at Nablus Gaza and Tulkarem.

MAY 28—Palestine riots result in five killings.

MAY 30—Palestine régime threatens to punish entire towns unless acts of vandalism cease.

JUNE 1—Wealthy Arabs flee Palestine after extortion threats by Arab youth leaders who demand money to continue general strike.

JUNE 7—Five Arabs are killed in Palestine after attacking Jews.

Poland

MAY 16—New Polish Premier, General Skladkowski, takes oath of office with members of cabinet.

MAY 31—Forty-two Polish peasants and 14 young Jews will be tried for rioting that resulted in three deaths on March 9.

JUNE 2—Poland to try 119 persons as Nazi conspirators to overthrow Government.

Soviet Union

MAY 27—Soviet Government invites criticism of new bill proposed to prohibit abortion, heretofore condoned, and reduce divorces.

JUNE 1—New Soviet constitution reorganizes judicial system to protect the civil rights and personal dignity of citizens.

Spain

MAY 17—Twelve Catholic schools closed by decree of Spanish Government.

MAY 19—Despite severe labor conflicts throughout the country Santiago Quiroga receives vote of confidence from Spanish Cortes.

JUNE 5—Madrid Government curbs strikers and launches action against armed Monarchists.

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

MAY 31—Rightist parties supporting President Justo demand a dictatorship to exclude from the government the legally elected radicals.

Bolivia

MAY 19—Bolivian Army officers and civilian members of Socialist Party assume control of the Government forcing President José Sorzant to resign.

MAY 20—The junta of Army officers and Socialists, who had seized control of the Government, resign; military men will rule.

Cuba

MAY 20—Dr. Miguel Mariano Gomez y Arias, elected January 10, sworn in as Cuba's sixth constitutional President.

Mexico

MAY 19—50,000 workers abandon railroad strike within twenty-four hours of its inception under Government threats to abrogate existing labor contracts.

Nicaragua

MAY 28—General Somoza leads Army in revolt against President Sacasa. Later, he denies existence of revolt.

MAY 31—General Somoza's forces repulsed in attack by the Guardia de Honor garrisoned in the Presidential palace.

JUNE 2—Nicaraguan fort yields to rebellious forces under General Somoza; surrender of palace expected.

JUNE 9—Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, exiled President of Nicaragua, charges that General Somoza, leader of the rebels, betrayed him.

MARGINAL HISTORY

Sidenotes from the Current Scene of World Events

CONGRESSMAN SIROVICH recently moved a resolution to investigate the practicability of the absorption of Canada into the United States. He wishes the Governments of Canada and Newfoundland to appoint similar committees to confer with the American committee. He is kind enough to suggest that the Canadian provinces can enter the United States with the same status as that possessed by the existing States. Two of his arguments are that if his scheme carries, the vacant spaces of Canada will be available for settlement by Americans, and that sales of American goods in Canada will be increased. This is all reminiscent of Mr. Champ Clark's statement in 1911, that the Fielding Reciprocity Treaty of that year would make this Dominion an annex of the Republic. There is no record in the dispatches that the Congressman's suggestion caused any outbreak of laughter at Washington. Premier Hepburn's comment was, "So far as I am concerned, it is certainly our desire to remain a part of the British Empire and continue to perpetuate British ideals and institutions." If these are his views, it is news to most people throughout Ontario.

—From the *Toronto Mail and Empire.*

❖ ❖ ❖

Perhaps the most original banquet given anywhere in the world this year was that of Viscount Kanetomo Ijuin, who invited three hundred guests to feast on—rats.

To be sure, the rodents whose meat was served at the Viscount's board were of an unusual and supposedly very toothsome variety. They were wild rats from Formosa, Japan's semi-tropical island.

Formosan rats live on sugar-cane roots and grow to a length of two feet. When the first Dutch merchants arrived in Formosa they tried the flesh of these rats and found it unexpectedly good.

Viscount Ijuin is convinced that the rats will constitute a valuable addition to the national diet; and his banquet was an attempt to give the virtues of rat-meat publicity.

—*London Observer, Tokyo Correspondent.*

❖ ❖ ❖

Sir,

Kindly through your newspaper expose a certain class of scoundrel operating in North China. In the city of Peiping, and in the villages outside the walls, Koreans and their Chinese henchmen have established houses which are nothing but "fences" for stolen goods, and worse, kidnapped children. They all deal in *pai-mien* (heroin). Whenever a child, dog, or even a cat for that matter, is brought to them, they do not pay in cash, but in *pai-mien.* Generally the one who does the pawning is a drug fiend, and it is known that a kidnapped child has been pawned for as little as twenty coppers, although the usual rate is ten cents. When the child's parents demand the release of their offspring, a ransom—according to what it is thought they can stand—is demanded. These sums range all the way from fifty cents to twenty or more dollars. Should the parents complain to the police, they are bluntly told that they should "keep a better eye on their children!"* * * The fumes from a dose of heroin are exceedingly vile and pungent—a Chinese friend of mine who tried a whiff, informed me that it smelt like the burnt bones of a corpse! * * * A few grains of the dope are inserted in the end of a cigarette, and to prevent it from spilling out, the user points the cigarette skywards, from which practice *pai-mien* addicts are now called *Kao she-p'ao*—anti-aircraft guns! If things are allowed to go on like this, it will mean the destruction of the Chinese race!

—A Letter to *The China Weekly Chronicle.*

❖ ❖ ❖

Great Britain lags behind in this matter of propaganda by wireless, and the Simon-Pure attitude of the British Broadcasting Company in offering to overseas listeners nothing more than mediocre entertainment, colourless news bulletins and non-controversial addresses, with occasional treats in the form of broadcast descriptions of the Derby, the Boat Race, or some important sporting event, constitutes a lamentable neglect of a wonderful opportunity. * * *

It may be argued that the radio should never have been used for propaganda work, but however long that argument is pursued, the fact remains that other nations are doing their utmost to win sympathy and understanding of their viewpoints overseas, and in doing so quite often make statements detrimental to British interests. By that we do not suggest that the broadcasting of deliberately false reports is common. We mean only that international events

take on various complexions according to the nationality of the observer. It should be one of the first duties of the B.B.C. to ensure that that British point of view is broadcast throughout the world far more fully and in many more languages than has been the case hitherto.

—From the *Straits Times*, Singapore.

❖ ❖ ❖

Bremen has made an important decision for the solution of the problem of anti-social cases. Senator Haltermann has declared that an institution is to be established in which patients will be housed in rows of single family houses. After all information has been carefully sifted and their domestic condition investigated, families found to be "anti-social" will have to enter this institution. If the conduct of the family is satisfactory in the first half-yearly grade, it is promoted to the second grade and a house with a small garden. If the improvement in the colony shows that the family has been weaned from its former attitude by the educational methods applied, the family may return into the community, though constant care and supervision will continue to be exercised in order to apprehend and correct any further "anti-social" manifestations.

—From the *Berliner Tageblatt.*

❖ ❖ ❖

"What about Governor Bridges of New Hampshire for Vice President, he is a progressive and an able speaker?" one of the Landon managers asked.

"That's true, but we have to be careful that we do not give the opposition a slogan," remarked Roy C Roberts, managing editor of the Kansas City Star and a keen observer of the political scene.

"How would 'Landon Bridges falling down' sound?"

—From *The New York Times.*

❖ ❖ ❖

It seems that England no longer intends to oppose Turkish refortification of the Dardanelles, since Italy's hostility has made her largely dependent on Turkish friendship in the Mediterranean. In addition, England hopes that the fortification of the Straits might stop the intervention of the Soviet Fleet in the Mediterranean at a critical moment, though at the moment this hope seems a rash one in view of the Russo-Turkish friendship. Finally London is aware of plans for the inclusion of the Black Sea Straits in a "Black Sea Pact." It is no secret that the realization of these plans, most enthusiastically backed by Russia and Turkey, would give Bolshevism another strategic advantage over England. It seems possible that English policy will concede to Turkey today what Turkey might take tomorrow without England's consent * * *

Here is the core of the Narrows problem. Refortification would only suit British interests if it were directed against the U.S.S.R. But in addition there would also have to be a limitation of the right of free passage for warships in time of war, a limitation from which only the Red Fleet would suffer. But Turkey wishes to maintain the right of free passage as laid down in the Lausanne and to abolish only the demilitarization clauses. It may be safely assumed that England will only agree to Turkish wishes if Turkey pays the price demanded by London. This would take the form of a firm Anglo-Turkish alliance with certain guarantees as to British interests in the Straits. Here also, then, in the Narrows there is a front where Europe stands in bitter, voiceless struggle with the Soviet Union. But England, as the protagonist of the West, will see that the Turkish crescent flies over the forts of Sedd el Bahr, Kale Sultanje and the rest, not in the shadow of the Red Flag and the Soviet Star, but in that of the Union Jack.

—From *Zeitschrift fur Politik*, Berlin

❖ ❖ ❖

Circumstances described in some circles as blighting have landed several idols of the Spanish bull-ring in prison. Instead of bounding in sunlit space, dressed in brilliant, multi-coloured capes, under the noses of snorting bulls, the heroes sit, solemnly dull-clad, behind rusty bars. They are exercising that most sacred right of all in Spain today—the right to strike.

They are led by Don Marcial Lalanda who, besides being one of the most popular espadas ("swords"—that is to say, master-killers of bulls) in the ring today, rejoices in the title of Inspector-Member of the Mixed Committee of Labour of the Bull-fighters' Union. Señor Lalanda was engaged to fight in the Madrid ring last Friday, the feast of St. Isidore the Labourer, patron of Madrid. Señor Armillita, a Mexican star, was also listed, but Señor Lalanda said that the Mexican's labour permit was not in order. The Chief of Police thought otherwise, and this difference of opinion landed Señor Lalanda and two other espadas, who sided with the Inspector-Member of their union, in gaol, after they had "downed tools" with the bulls, already waiting in their dark boxes for their last great gamble with death.

The thousands of disappointed holiday-makers * * * seemed disposed to agree that, whatever the benefits of trade unionism in other spheres, in bull-fighting circles it was a kill-joy.

—From the London *Times.*

AUTHORS *in this ISSUE:*

Rexford Guy Tugwell (*Down to Earth*)—our much-publicized and highly controversial Undersecretary of the Department of Agriculture, and Resettlement Administrator. He was at work on this article when the Appeals Court handed down a piece of its own on resettlement. But, undaunted, Professor Tugwell wrote on. Moreover, he will further explain his views in articles to follow in CURRENT HISTORY.

❖ ❖ ❖

Count Carlo Sforza (*Fear Across the Borders*). The distinguished descendant of the famous Sforza counts of Lombardy really rates an article on himself and his ideas. In fact, Professor Shotwell of Columbia University essayed that very task a few years back for the *New York Herald Tribune*. Suffice here to say, however, that: Count Sforza was a member of the Italian Senate in 1931 and a leader of the democratic opposition to fascism. Earlier, he was Foreign Minister, and, as an outstanding member of the diplomatic service, Minister to Serbia and China, High Commissioner to Turkey, and subsequently Ambassador to France. Count Sforza is best known here for his lectures at the Williamstown Institute of Politics in 1928, and in various universities in 1931. He is author of *European Dictatorships* (Brentano's, 1931), *Les Freres Ennemis* (1933), and *L'Ame Italienne* (1934), in addition to many magazine articles published here and abroad. His new book, *Europe and the Europeans* is to be published by Bobbs Merrill in July.

❖ ❖ ❖

Joseph H. Baird (*Small Business in the Soviet*). Former United Press correspondent in Russia, Mr. Baird possesses the rare ability to get under the confusion of word and theory and to reach the kernel of life in Russia With this article, he begins a series for CURRENT HISTORY on how the Soviet citizen really works and lives, while scholars speculate on his political destiny.

❖ ❖ ❖

Ignatius Phayre (*Holiday With Hitler*). A pseudonym, not unknown to CURRENT HISTORY readers. How Mr. Phayre first obtained his contacts with Europe's mighty, we are not privileged to say, but important private doors are usually open to him. We take it that he can write only with the sanction of his subjects; nevertheless, he can and does present certain intimacies which obviously are not obtainable elsewhere.

❖ ❖ ❖

Abraham Revusky (*Conflict in Palestine*). The author of *Jews in Palestine* (Vanguard Press, 1935) represents as competent authority as could be found for this subject. He is a native of Palestine, a frequent visitor there, and Foreign Editor of New York City's *Jewish Morning Journal*. His book has been translated into several foreign languages. However, as the Palestinian situation rapidly takes on more serious aspects, other articles treating different phases of the problem and written from different viewpoints, will be published in CURRENT HISTORY.

❖ ❖ ❖

Herbert Harris (*Madison and the Constitution*) is a former newspaper man and research director of New York City's Fusion Party. He conducts the political compendium column for *The People's Money* magazine and writes frequently for other publications.

❖ ❖ ❖

Edward C. McDowell, Jr. (*Poison Gas, Myth and Menace*) is a staff writer for CURRENT HISTORY.

❖ ❖ ❖

Hugo de Laehne (*Hungary*) is a former cabinet officer of the nation of which he writes.

❖ ❖ ❖

Rufus B. von KleinSmid (*The Real Hawaii*) is president of the University of Southern California.

❖ ❖ ❖

Willard L. Wiener (*Words Without Musing*) is a New York City newspaper reporter, whose delight is asking questions about what most people take for granted. But do we really know the things we think we know so well? Here is an amusing article, which may have some political significance.

❖ ❖ ❖

Charles Hodges (*Mr. Hull Sees It Through*) is Professor of Politics at New York University and author of *The Background of International Relations*.

❖ ❖ ❖

Grant Dexter (*Canada's New Dealers*) writes from the focal point of Canadian politics—Ottawa—where he is the *Winnipeg Free Press* correspondent, as well as a Canadian contributor to the English *Manchester Guardian*.

❖ ❖ ❖

B. K. Sandwell (*Reciprocity*) is editor of Canada's leading political and literary weekly, *Saturday Night*.

❖ ❖ ❖

Z. Z. (*Canada Bids for Air-routes*) contributes to the Winnipeg *Free Press* regular articles on aviation, which are widely read throughout the Dominion.

❖ ❖ ❖

Steven Cartwright (*Utopia Evades Alberta*) is a former editor of the *Canadian Forum* and a staff writer for CURRENT HISTORY.

——Speaking of *Travel*——

Europe's Tom Thumb Governments Are Long on Interest, Short on Size

LIECHTENSTEIN, Andorra, Monaco, and San Marino mean very little to most Americans, including those who try their hand occasionally at helping Junior or Mary with their geography lessons, yet each name represents a full-fledged and properly credentialed European government. And they are seldom snubbed by the mapmakers; that is, all except Liechtenstein, whose name in even the smallest print takes up space out of all proportion to its size for map purposes.

Many tourists and visitors, traveling on European railroads, pass through one or another of these vest-pocket nations without any realization that they may be riding through some of the world's oldest states. Yet there are few tourists who, once having heard of the histories and peoples of the Tom Thumb governments, fail to include at least one of them on their list of stopping-points of interest.

Although the actual driving time from one end to the other of any of the midget states is little more than a matter of minutes, the tourist will find more than enough to occupy his thoughts and attention for many hours. He may wonder, for example, how such small governments have managed to retain their identities and self-respect in the dead middle of such international confusion, or that any or all were not bodily gobbled up in the general feast of imperialism. He would be impressed, too, by the simplicity with which these goverments are run, and be puzzled why size should make the governments of larger nations so unwieldy and cumbersome. But above all he will marvel at the ease and freedom from worry of the people in at least three of the four small states. The people in Liechtenstein, for example, are too absorbed with farming and stock-raising to bother about the surrounding nations, many of which pour all their savings and resources into pile upon pile of war machines and do not spend as much time as they should cultivating the soil.

Liechtenstein is a principality propped between the Austrian land of Vorarlberg and the Swiss Canton of St. Gallen, and is made up of the counties of Schellenberg and Vaduz, both of which were fiefs of the Roman Empire before the eighteenth century. The counties came into possession of the house of Liechtenstein at the turn of the century and were constituted as a principality by Emperor Karl VI. The principality divorced itself completely from the Roman Empire in 1806 and joined the Confederation of the Rhine under the Protectorate of the Emperor, Napoleon I. After the fall of the French Empire, Liechtenstein joined the German Confederation in 1815 and remained a member of the Confederation until 1866, at which time it emerged as an independent state under the protective wing of Austria. But in 1917, it shook itself free, and (except for arrangements with neighboring Switzerland, by which the larger country agreed to take care of the principality's foreign interests and manage its customs, posts, and telegraphs) has had complete autonomy ever since.

Liechtenstein's Royalty

The titular head of Liechtenstein is Francis I, whose royal family tree dates back to the twelfth century, and whose descent traces through free barons who became princes during the early part of the seventeenth century. Prince Francis ascended the throne seven years ago upon the death of his brother, Prince John II, who reigned for seventy-one years. The actual executive head of the country is Administrator Dr. Joseph Hoop, appointed by Prince John and retained by Prince Francis.

The people of Liechtenstein are close to the soil and separated from the sword; there has been no military conscription or compulsory service since 1867; the Army was discontinued in 1868. And shoulders which in nearby nations are stooped under the weight or cost of guns are put to the plow in Liechtenstein. From this small area, hardly larger than New York's Staten Island, has come some of Europe's best corn, and wine, and fruit, and wood. The principality's other industries are cotton-weaving and spinning,

leather goods, and pottery. Stock-raising, too, is highly developed, helped in a large measure by the fertile Alpine pastures. The beauty of the landscape is almost uninterrupted, except, perhaps, for five miles of railroad tracks and ties belonging to the Zurich-to-Vienna Orient Express.

Andorra

Andorra is just about three times the size of Liechtenstein but has a population of 5,000—half that of the principality. The country officially is a republic but is under the joint suzerainty of France and the Spanish Bishop of Urgel. It has maintained its identity since the thirteenth century and in 1806 was made into a constitutional republic by Napoleon. For ten centuries the country was governed by a council of twenty-four members elected for four years by the heads of families in each of the six parishes, but in August 1933 the system of universal suffrage was introduced for the election of a council of thirty-four members. France administers Andorra's public services, such as education, the posts and telegraphs, and the Bishop of Urgel is the Spanish Diplomatic Representative. For this, France receives 960 francs and the Bishop, 460 pesetas annually.

Andorra, located in a valley of the Pyrenees, consists for the most part of gorges, narrow valleys, has a rough and irregular surface, and is surrounded by the high mountain peaks of the Eastern Pyrenees. The soil does not lend itself to much agricultural developments and the leading industry is sheep-raising.

The people of Andorra are simple folk, slightly backward in the accepted Western meaning of education, but have established a highly organized judicial system comparable in many ways to the American system. They speak neither French nor Spanish but a native Catalan.

Monaco

Unlike Liechtenstein or Andorra, Monaco not only makes determined bids for the trade of visitors and tourists, but is almost dependent on the attention and patronage of outsiders for its normal existence. For Monaco is the home of the world's greatest gambling resorts, La Condamine and Monte Carlo. In fact, the fame of Monte Carlo has all but absorbed the very identity of the country itself.

Monaco is a small principality on the Mediterranean and is surrounded on every side except the sea by the French department of Alpes Maritimes. It was an independent principality for 800 years before the French Revolution, when the reigning prince was dispossessed. But in 1815, the royal line was re-established and placed under the protectorate of the Kingdom of Sardinia by the Treaty of Vienna. The Sardinian protectorate was transferred to France in 1861 and in 1911 a constitution was promulgated under which universal suffrage was introduced and which provides for a National Council.

There is much about Monaco, in addition to its gaming tables, to commend itself to the tourist; its small, sheltered harbor is one of the quaintest in Europe, and an important oceanographic museum and laboratory, established by the late Prince Albert, is located in Monaco-Ville.

San Marino

The oldest of the four midget states—or of any state in Europe, in fact—is San Marino, which claims to have been founded

(Continued on page 125)


WHERE-TO-GO

(Continued from page 123)

in the fourth century. The country is an independent republic located plumb in the middle of Italy, almost like an extra rib. It has a treaty of friendship with Italy which it renews regularly, and as a mark of affection for the domain of Il Duce, recently elected fascists to control in the Great Council, which consists of sixty members, two of whom exert the executive power. Another indication of San Marino's attachment for Italy is its militia, made up of all able-bodied male citizens between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five.

The entire country is but thirty-eight square miles in area and the census, when taken four years ago, was 13,948. The people are engaged in the cattle-raising, wine, and building stone industries, which account for the nation's chief exports.

Diplomatically, San Marino is far from inactive or unimportant; the country has extradition treaties with England, Belgium, Holland, and the United States. And economically and financially, the state is the envy of larger nations because of its ability, year in and out, to balance its budget and to clear all public debts.

Tourists usually reach San Marino by carriage, motor, or electric railway from Rimini, Italy, fifteen miles away. The railway is of recent construction, having been completed in 1932.

Here and There . . .

BRIEFS: Visitors to Downe, Kent, England, may see the old Downe House, where Charles Darwin wrote his notable "The Origin of Species." . . . Iceland, contrary to popular thought, is not as cold as its name implies; it is situated at the tail end of the Gulf Stream and there are even hot springs on the island itself. . . . Tourists who are ambitious enough to climb 228 steps in order to get a good view of the battlefield of Waterloo will visit the new pyramid erected for the purpose. . . . Trinidad oranges are among the finest tasting in the world, but have never been marketed on a large scale because exporters claim their color would make them unsaleable. The



©*Austrian State Tourist Department*

The ruins of the famous medieval castle on the Danube, between Vienna and Linz. The castle, a stronghold for robber bands during the early part of the thirteenth century, was destroyed by Duke Albert I in 1295. It was later rebuilt in the fifteenth century.

oranges are colored green, marbled with yellow. . . . In parts of Portugal, the people whittle *palitos*, or toothpicks, for a living.

❖ ❖ ❖

The Salzberg Festival, one of the outstanding events in the world of music this summer, will be held in Salzberg, Austria, July 25 to August 31 The program for the festival will include most of the classic operas and will be supplemented by the five Cathedral concerts and a special concert series by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Salzberg Province has been called both the "Paradise of Lakes" and "Land of Eternal Youth"; the former because its Shafberg peak is reflected in the picturesque lakes of Salskammergut, and the latter because of the rejuvenating thermal health springs of Gastein.

❖ ❖ ❖

NOTES ON THE GERMAN OLYMPICS: German frontier customs offices will issue to foreign motorists, during July 25 to August 16, special Olympic Customs Certificates. The certificates allow motorists who do not possess customs permits but who can produce valid passports, free customs entry without the payment of any deposit. The certificate will be valid for one inward and one outward crossing of the frontier until September 16. This extension of one month beyond the closing date of the Olympic Games is provided for the convenience of tourists who wish to visit other parts of the country after the games.

Twenty special Olympic tours have been arranged and vary in length from twenty-seven to fifty-nine days, according to the number of countries to be visited. Many of the tours will be under the leadership of prominent coaches and athletic directors. Members of these tours will enjoy discussions and lectures aboard ship similar to those inaugurated by the late Knute Rockne on his 1928 tour to Amsterdam.

Youthful hitch-hikers, walkers, or cyclists to the Olympics constitute the only group privileged to stop at Germany's popular Youth Hostels. The hostels provide miniature kitchens for visitors under twenty, among other accommodations, the only cooking charge being a small coin which, when inserted in a slot, operates the small gas cookers.

The World In Books

(Continued from page 7)

the almost ridiculous conclusion to which the pursuit of a nationalist policy must lead. Russia can build a social state (communism is not yet a *fait accompli,* though ultimately desired) if there is no intervention. Yet such a condition is only possible if war is a guaranteed impossibility. For war would be costly and perhaps even disastrous to the present government, and only through an international alliance of workers could conflict be prevented.

Stalin's nationalist policy, Trotsky believes, has veered the aims of the party toward the Right. Under the influence of foreign political pressure the struggle is no longer communism against capitalism, but "bourgeois democracy" against fascism.

History of Russia

The forces which have modified extreme Leftism in Russia are given a broader and more factual basis in George Vernadsky's *Political and Diplomatic History of Russia* (Little, Brown & Company, $4.00). Here one follows in amazing detail the increasing retrenchment of the Communist Party from the rebellions by peasants, factory workers, and sailors of Kronstadt in 1921 to the second five-year plan. The uprisings of 1921 compelled the formulation of a new economic policy (NEP), which provided for a general, but limited, grain levy and the passage shortly after of the Land Statute, under which the possession of small farms was legalized. Thus capitalism was fostered within its own intended death chamber.

Abroad, the party pressed the doctrine of revolution. In England, the general strike of 1926 arose under partial Soviet direction, and in China the Kuomintang Party, representing a labor and peasant movement, tasted communism and found it good, and became the agent of the movement until suppressed by Chiang Kai-shek.

These insurrectionary activities were frightening other European nations, however, and the Comintern, desiring peace and fearing isolation, expediently pulled in its hooks and confined operations to within its own shell.

Another book dealing with the Soviet is Edmund Wilson's *Travels in Two Democracies* (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50). Mr. Wilson not only gives Americans some new views of Russia but

of their own country as well. Fortunately, Mr. Wilson does not start out with something to prove, nor does he follow the formula of ending up with a soul-inspired "message." This does not mean that Mr. Wilson has avoided conclusions; he has avoided emphasizing his own beliefs and prejudices and has permitted the reader to arrive at ports of thought under his own steam.

The United States gave Mr. Wilson a new sense of nationality; "I feel convinced that American republican institutions—disastrously as they are always being abused—have some permanent and absolute value," he writes. Of Russia: "We shall be in no position to reprove the Russians 'til we shall be able to show them an American socialism which is free from the Russian defects."

Two New Histories

Two recent books of historical significance are Gordon East's *Historical Geography of Europe* (Dutton, $5.00), and *A Short History of Asia*, by Herbert H. Gowen (Little, Brown, $3.50). The first named looms as a standard work for students of European history and geography. Certainly one of the most comprehensive works covering the particular field, the *Historical Geography of Europe* presents much that is new in our present geographical details of important cities and areas. The aim of the work is the "discovery of correlations between human societies and their geographical settings."

According to *A Short History of Asia*, the arena of history is moving from the confines of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. There, says Professor Gowen, the world's future awaits birth and rapid development. And Westerners, for whom the book is primarily written, should understand the forces now operating in order to direct this growth toward peaceful and constructive ends. In its revised form, the work contains a new chapter reviewing the events of the last decade; the activities of the restless Arabs in Palestine, recently resulting in sanguinary actions against the Jews; the Japanese-Chinese imbroglio over Manchukuo; the potential conflict between Russia and Japan for political hegemony in the Orient, and the problems of an awakening India.

An Ex-Convict's Problems

Not since Warden Lawes wrote *Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing* has there been a book dealing so effectively, from the popular standpoint, of the attempts of an ex-convict to play the game according to society's accepted rules, as *Where Do I Go From Here* (Lee Furman, $2.50). The book is the life story of one of the nation's most accomplished forgers, who, under the pseudonym of Roger Benton, tells his story to Robert O. Ballou.

"Roger Benton" was in and out of various prisons over a period of twenty years, and was condemned while in, damned while out. He tells of prison punishments and tortures in Louisiana, which are almost as startling, though not as emotionally written, as the Georgia described by Robert Burns.

But most important of all is Benton's decision to take the hard line and find a place for himself in society. "And his problem," says Warden Lawes in the introduction to the book, "is not only his own, but that of every other man leaving prison: that of earning a livelihood in a legitimate enterprise to the end that he need not be forced by economic pressure to return to unlawful activities with a certainty of finishing his life in another penal institution."

The book deserves a same place on any shelf which includes Al Jennings' famous *Through the Shadows with O. Henry*; it is intended for popular distribution but it will also be read with interest by students of penology and sociology for its actual first-hand material.

❖ ❖ ❖

That much should be done would seem to be the conclusion of *Where Do I Go From Here*. It remains for Sheldon Glueck's new work, *Crime and Justice* (Little, Brown, $3) to propose just what can be done and within what limits. Dr. Glueck, professor of criminology at the Harvard Law School, sees little in the American system of crime prevention and treatment that cannot afford to be scrapped in order to make way for an entirely new structure. It is no surprise to Dr Glueck that under the existing administration, or mis-administration of justice, crime has increased. The multiplicity and local jealousies of police administration within the State, the decentralization of probation and other services, and the absence of a centralized statistical service and clearing house for criminal records and other elements of a continuous and thorough case-history of each offender point to a "lack of integration in what ought to be a unified, centrally directed system of justice."

The problem, says Dr. Glueck, is even more fundamental. What about the incompetent, dishonest, and anti-social law administrators? And most fundamental of all · can we ignore conditions of poor housing, bad companionship, inadequate preparation for industry, poor education, and irresponsible upbringing entering into the causes of crime?

Crime and Justice is thought-provoking, compelling reading. The publishers could render no better public service than to send complimentary copies to the entire range of public law officials. That is, of course, if there would be definite assurance that the book would not be ignored as if it were law statutes or records.

August, 1936 Price 25 Cents

an interview with OTTO

by Dorothy Waring

major party platforms

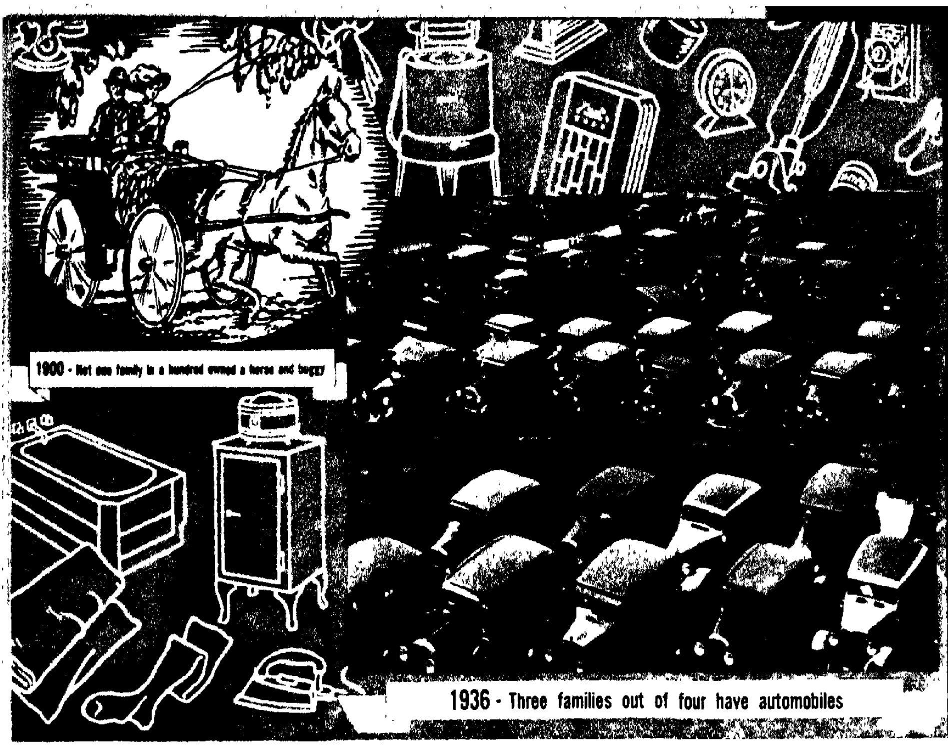
by Wallace S. Sayre

sterilization

by J. H. Landman

THEY SAY: a new digest of world-wide comment

PUBLISHED BY CURRENT HISTORY, INCORPORATED



More Goods for More People

IN 1900, not one family in a hundred owned a horse and buggy, today, three out of four have cars. One family in thirteen had a telephone, now, one family in two. In 1900, modern plumbing and central heating were luxuries less than 500,000 homes had electricity—radio and electric refrigeration were unknown. Today, 21 million homes are wired; 7 million families own electric refrigerators, 22 million have radio receivers.

In 1921, a Mazda lamp cost 45 cents, it now costs 15 cents. You receive 80 per cent more light for your dollar because of greatly increased lamp efficiency and a lower average electric rate for the home. General Electric research developed these lower-cost lamps, helped devise more economical ways of generating and distributing electricity—to bring better light to more people at less cost

Today, electricity is vital to industry, for the manufacture of most goods—from bathtubs to textiles, foods to furnaces—to meet the increasing needs and the purses of millions. In this progress, G-E research and engineering have ever been in the forefront. And still, *in the Research Laboratory, in Schenectady, General Electric scientists continue the* search for new knowledge—from which come savings, new industries, increased employment, more goods for more people.

G-E research has saved the public from ten to one hundred dollars for every dollar it has earned for General Electric

GENERAL ELECTRIC

Current HISTORY

For August

M. E. TRACY
Publisher

LEONARD M. LEONARD
Assistant to the Publisher

JOHN C. CASMAN
General Manager

SPECIAL ARTICLES

REGULAR FEATURES

Current History. Volume XLIV. No. 5. August, 1936. Published Monthly by Current History, Inc., at 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy, $3 a year; two years $5; three years $7; Canada, 75c a year additional; foreign, $1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new address. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Entered in Canada as second-class matter. Printed in U. S. A.

THE WORLD

IN BOOKS

What answer shall I take back to my people whom you have promised to defend?
—Haile Selassie before the League of Nations.

THE Italo-Ethiopian affair has been scrubbed, soaked, and rinsed in thickest whitewash by the gentlemen at Geneva, who suddenly seem to have discovered that Il Duce isn't such a bad fellow after all, and that this business of sanctions and reprisals may be going a little too far.

But Haile Selassie, who hurried to Geneva to protest that the League Covenant had promised him the security of his Empire and had specified that territory acquired by force would not be recognized, found he was shouting against the wind. The League did him the courtesy, however, of officially rejecting his plea on official stationery, albeit the decision was a masterpiece of gnarled technicality, ambiguity, and evasion

Such a rejection, forecasts Princess Asfa Yilma in *Haile Selassie* (Appleton-Century, $4) may mean an immediate voiding of all treaties and agreements among nations For if the world has turned its back on Ethiopia and has ignored its pledges to maintain that country's territorial integrity, what assurance is there that there will not be similar back turnings and repudiations in the future?

Princess Asfa Yilma, a member of the royal house of Ethiopia, and a descendant, as is Haile Selassie, of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, wrote her book months before the historic League of Nations decision, which ended sanctions against Italy, was handed down. She wrote it, in fact, before Mussolini's low salaried killers swaggered into Addis Ababa with their asserted death contrivances and pronouncements of victory. But that the book does not record the final denouément of the Emperor and his ancient kingdom does not detract from its worth as the most comprehensive work published thus far dealing with the general history of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, and the Italian conflict As the story of one of the world's oldest nations it is absorbing and compelling reading, as a picture of the personality of Selassie, it is intimate and appealing, and as an indictment of imperialism, it is vitally effective.

From the Princess' characterization of the Emperor, one sees a "sad and disillusioned" little man, puzzled somewhat at the failure of the only court to which he could go to prevent the forcible theft of his home and country. He has been sold out, and those who formerly displayed themselves as his friends and protectors are now revealed as vultures-in-waiting, standing in line for whatever crumbs of oil or similar contracts can be thrown their way by Il Duce.

What answer shall I take back to my people whom you have promised to defend?

Solomon and Sheba

Princess Asfa Yilma has included in her book the story of Solomon and Sheba as part of the historical background of Ethiopia. A full-sized work dealing with this theme has been written by Post Wheeler, former American Minister to Albania, in a book entitled *The Golden Legend of Ethiopia* (Appleton-Century, $2). There are few romances in fiction which have been able to compare with the tale of King Solomon and Maqeda, Queen of Axum and Sheba, or Ethiopia Certainly, what novelist could hope to cast such characters? Solomon, pitting his wit and wisdom against the steadfast determination of the beautiful Sheba, who sought to hold back the tides of ripened courtship.

Mr. Wheeler's theme loses nothing in the retelling. It would seem to provide, in fact, an interesting background study for a thorough understanding of the current Ethiopian situation. Menelek I, son of Solomon and Sheba, for example, was founder of the present royal line and ancestor of Haile Selassie, "last" Emperor of Ethiopia

Europe and Europeans

Now that the actual conflict in Ethiopia is ended, there are many who see neither threat nor imminence of war. They will find ample reassurance in Count Carlo Sforza's statement in *Europe and Europeans* (Bobbs-Merrill, $2.75) that "no one in Europe save a few crazy brains believes in war any more—in the advantages of war . . ."

Count Sforza was an active player on the chessboard of international diplomacy for many years, but he withdrew when Benito Mussolini came charging into Rome in 1922 with a show of bluster and might which scared the royalty into giving him the run of the house. Since

that time, Count Sforza has devoted himself to a study, as the title of his book would imply, of Europe and Europeans. He believes that groups which purport to favor conflict or which have taken on a "bellicose air" do so only for reasons of politics, or for defense of caste interests. And even those groups, he adds in reality hate war; "they would very much like to talk about it all the time, and never make it."

Rulers and nations generally like to flaunt the war bogey, the author suggests, because it affords them a peg on which to hang their increasingly severe control over the people. And under dominant and even oppressive rule, there are many of the prudent who will draw deeply into the well of rationalization to assure themselves they can keep their inner conscience and philosophy clear, even if they keep time with the goosestep. But even those who feign to obey the demagog in power must undergo degradation; "the coward begins with a reigned silence, but passes soon to demonstrations of respect and even enthusiasm for those whom he still loathes from the bottom of his soul. . . ."

Count Carlo is perhaps one of the best-informed of a growing number of anti-nationalists. His *Europe and Europeans* will be widely read and discussed by those groups advocating a new and refurbished organization of the states in Europe, and very likely by students of mass psychology.

Slocombe's Memoirs

While Count Sforza sees Europe and its leading personalities through the eyes of an experienced diplomat, George Slocombe, author of *The Tumult and the Shouting*, (Macmillan, $3.50) views the scene as the dean of England's foreign correspondents.

There have been many recent books based

Books Reviewed in This Issue

GENERAL

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Haile Selassie	Princess Asfa Yilma	Appleton-Century	$3
The Golden Legend of Ethiopia	Post Wheeler	Appleton-Century	$2
Europe and Europeans	Count Carlo Sforza	Bobbs-Merrill	$2.75
The Tumult and the Shouting	George Slocombe	Macmillan	$3.50
Walks and Talks Abroad	Sir Arnold Wilson	Oxford	$2.50
Two Worlds	Lester Cohen	Covici-Friede	$3.50
Gambetta and the National Defence	J. P. T. Bury	Longmans, Green	$7
The Career of Théophile Delcassé	Charles W. Porter	University of Pennsylvania Press	$3.50
Washington and His Aides-de-Camp	Emily Stone Whiteley	Macmillan	$2.50
The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations	Joyce O. Hertzler	McGraw-Hill	$4
World History: The Growth of Western Civilization	R. Flenley W. N. Weech	Dutton	$3.50
A National Transportation Policy	C. S. Duncan	Appleton-Century	$3
Effective Citizenship	Millard S. Darling Benjamin B. Greenberg	Prentice-Hall	$1.40
The Discussion of Human Affairs	Charles A. Beard	Macmillan	$1.75

FICTION

Gone with the Wind	Margaret Mitchell	Macmillan	$3
Waterloo	Manuel Komroff	Coward-McCann	$2.50
Eyeless in Gaza	Aldous Huxley	Harper	$2.50

on the "confidential memoirs" of leading American newspaper men and writers. The fad seems to have been concentrated on these shores, however, and there have been few books, outside those of the easily-provoked-to-writing Lloyd George, which have dealt with the "heretofore unknown" facts of the Continent by Continental writers. *The Tumult and the Shouting*, happily, is more than an attempt to claim belated recognition for England in the field of journalistic reminiscing. It is a book which was needed. Mr. Slocombe was there with his paper and pencil, and sometimes his voice, too, whenever things happened that subsequently found their way into the history books.

Slocombe was the type of a chap who could go bristling up to Mussolini, stick his beard in Il Duce's face, say "Boo!" and get away with it, in or out of Italy. And when Slocombe thought that conferences or meetings he covered were not going just right, he might step in and say: "This is the way it should be done." And many times it was.

There was the Geneva Disarmament Conference of 1927. Great Britain and Soviet Russia were none too friendly as the result of the celebrated police raid on the London Headquarters of Arcos. A reconciliation between the two leading nations seemed impossible, and it did not appear as though Sir Austen Chamberlain and Maxim Litvinov could be brought together where matters could be straightened out. So Slocombe got busy. He bustled around Geneva, visiting, phoning, and wiring. Result? Litvinov called on Chamberlain and the international tension over strained Anglo-Russian relations had cleared.

Slocombe rushed to India in 1930 when Mahatma Gandhi, in jail, steadfastly refused to give ground to Great Britain in his famous "eleven demands." Slocombe sat down with the Mahatma on the stone veranda outside his cell and went to work. "I have never met any man more utterly honest, more transparently sincere, less given to the egotism, self-conscious pride, opportunism, and ambition which are found in greater or less degree in all the other great political figures of the world," Slocombe writes. But above all, Gandhi was reasonable; Slocombe prevailed upon him to eliminate seven of his original demands, and to be more flexible in the remaining four.

Slocombe numbers among his character portraits the by-now-almost-legendary "Savage Messiah"—Gaudier-Brzeska, and Briand, Tchicherin, Mussolini, Blum, James Joyce, Primo de Rivera, Lincoln Steffens, Anatole France, and Jo Davidson, to name only a few. It would be difficult, in fact, to draw up a list which could contain as many as five important national or international figures who do not figure somewhere in Slocombe's story. *The Tumult and the Shouting* is made of the right stuff; it is a prescription for those who want to get away from the "I-was-born-and-I-did, etc." type of autobiography. For the book is a mirror, in many respects, of current history and of the people who weave it.

Walks and Talks Abroad

Another book by an English author having American publication is *Walks and Talks Abroad* (Oxford, $2.50), by Sir Arnold Wilson, British diplomat and member of the House of Commons. Sir Arnold has definite ideas on English foreign policy, government, and economic philosophies. He has collected his thoughts and notes, based on the events of the last few years, into a thought-provoking group of essays.

Sir Arnold wants England to have peace with her neighbors—with France, and Germany, and Italy; with all others, in fact, except Soviet Russia. The U.S.S.R. to Sir Arnold is something less than a noble experiment in human values and human relations. Russia to him represents an unnecessary evil. Europe, he believes, should recognize this evil and "speak to Soviet Russia and the rest of Asia with a single voice." Sir Arnold points out, too, that the reported internal strength of the Soviet is not in keeping with the real facts, although he acknowledges that Russia is the "greatest and most predatory of all colonial powers . . ."

Alone, Great Britain cannot "speak" to Soviet Russia. The rest of Europe must use its voice, too. But where are the eligibles? France has almost fallen all over herself in her eagerness to make an alliance with the Soviet. Germany, while a logical candidate, in the author's opinion, is not proceeding along a domestic policy "acceptable to any Englishman who is true to his national tradition." This tradition, he asserts, rules out intolerance in racial matters. Sir Arnold points out, however, that Germany is not the only sinner; Russia, Mexico, Spain, Japan, and even the United States can find official or unofficial repression of certain racial

groups without looking too sharply. Of the remaining European powers, Italy seems to be too solicitous of the good-will of France to raise its voice or even make faces at the Soviet, and Austria can do little else right now except keep its territory intact and hold off the fidgeting feet of both Hitler and Mussolini.

But Sir Arnold's general, long-range, objective for Great Britain is there. When it comes to a choice of Germany or Russia, England should not have to think twice before stacking up against the Soviet. Similarly, differences with or among other European nations should be put aside for the more important business at hand.

Walks and Talks Abroad may prove to be a prediction of the turn history may take during the next decade. And if it does, Sir Arnold will probably be too busy in Parliament pointing out implications in this and that to say "I told you so."

Mr. Cohen Writes Again

A marked contrast to *Walks and Talks Abroad*, at least in the authors' opinions of Soviet Russia, is Lester Cohen's *Two Worlds*, (Covici-Friede, $3.50). Mr. Cohen, unlike Sir Arnold, actually visited Russia and came away with a "profound respect for Soviet achievement, and a love of the Russian people" And communism is one of the two worlds implied in his title. The other world is the sphere of capitalism, where the only problems solved are those of the capitalists in the acquisition of more wealth at the expense of the people.

Mr. Cohen hurtled into the literary spotlight some years ago with his *Sweepings*, a novel which sold well and sent him the way of all promising young writers—to the Hollywood cinema factories, where copy for scenarios is ground out, usually at a fair return to the writers. But Mr. Cohen decided to make the trip back to pure writing; more than that, he decided to make a trip around the world and record his observation of peoples and their governments. *Two Worlds* is the result

There are few peoples or countries which evoked such responsiveness in Mr Cohen as that represented by the U.S.S.R. England. France, India, China, and Japan get verbal spankings, and the author has little sympathy with other nations operated by, of, and for the moneyed classes.

Two Worlds is both a travel book and a not-unimportant addition to our rapidly mounting stock of literature on, or of, the social scene. As a book of travel, it is vastly entertaining; as a social philosophy, its conclusions may be questioned by many, but its sincerity by none.

Two French Statesmen

Few recent biographies can be read side by side to such mutual advantage as J. P. T. Bury's *Gambetta and the National Defence* (Longmans, Green, $7) and *The Career of Théophile Delcassé* by Charles W. Porter (University of Pennsylvania Press, $3.50). Leon Michel Gambetta, who denounced the Napoleonic government and became founder of the Third French Republic and subsequently its "Dictator", had a political career remarkably like that of Théophile Delcassé, one of France's greatest Foreign Ministers and war-time diplomats. Gambetta, in fact, was Delcassé's "idol and his ideal"; "his genius improvised armies which, though unable to throw back the invader, had at least saved the honor of the country, the only thing left for France to lose," Delcassé wrote early in his career of Gambetta and the Franco-Prussian War in 1870.

Both Gambetta and Delcassé fell from power midway in their careers and retired into temporary obscurity, only to come back later and dominate the political life of France. Gambetta retreated into exile in San Sebastian, Spain, in 1871, after the war with Prussia, and his influence in French politics seemed forever gone. Yet when the French political situation again called for a leader, Gambetta was there—Gambetta in whom the public seemed to have lost all faith—Gambetta, who was born of Italian ancestry and who did not assume French citizenship until he was twenty-one. And Gambetta was equal to the occasion, emerging as the only great man of the Government of the National Defence.

Delcassé "resigned" as Minister of Foreign Affairs, a post which he had held for seven years, in 1905 when his system of making alliances and ententes with other nations came in for severe criticism. He was back six years later, however, as Minister of Marine in the Cabinet of Earnest Monis, and exerted more influence in the foreign affairs of France than ever before.

Delcassé's activities as a French diplomat, based largely upon the teachings of Gambetta, did much to contribute to that "fatal division of Europe into two grasping, antagonistic, and mutually suspicious armed camps out of which grew the war", Mr. Porter writes. For Théophile Delcassé was chief among those who played with the forces of militarism, imperialism, secret alliances, the press, and diplomatic irresponsibility which found its culmination in the World War. In this respect, Mr. Porter

likens him to Bismarck. "Bismarck seized Alsace-Lorraine," the author says. "Delcassé restored the lost provinces to France." Delcassé did more than help bring on the war; he helped to win it.

Mr. Bury has concerned his book more with the period of Gambetta's career leading up to his "retirement" in 1871 than with the subsequent events of the Second Empire or the Government of National Defence. Both *Gambetta and the National Defence* and *The Career of Théophile Delcassé* are important studies of two of France's leading diplomatic figures, whose almost interlocking careers dominated French politics from the end of the Napoleonic era to the close of the World War.

Genius Outside the General

It is interesting to note that Mr. Bury attributes Gambetta's failure on the fields of battle to a lack of military genius among his leading officers. The importance of first-rank military assistance to a commander is illustrated very vividly in Emily Stone Whiteley's *Washington and His Aides-de-Camp* (Macmillan, $2.50). There were thirty-two aides and secretaries to Washington during the eight years of the Revolutionary War. To Washington, they were "eyes and ears and hands and feet, and he used them as he did his own faculties and members—unsparingly and for the greatest good and glory of his country," Mrs. Whiteley says.

Chief among the aides and secretaries were Tench Tilghman, to whom Washington is believed to have been most attached; Joseph Reed who, with Major Thomas Mifflin, were the first appointees made to Washington's staff; Alexander Hamilton, an "ambitious youth" with "brilliant qualities" appreciated by Washington; Richard Kidder Meade, of Virginia, who was Washington's best "riding aide", and John Laurens, of South Carolina, for whom Washington had a deep and lasting friendship.

Mrs. Whiteley has performed a service in giving recognition to the generally unrecognized heroes of the Revolution, satellites in every sense whose brilliance was dimmed by the greater light that was Washington.

The Month in Fiction

Definitely outstanding in the field of fiction last month were *Gone with the Wind* by Margaret Mitchell (Macmillan, $3); *Waterloo* by Manuel Komroff (Coward-McCann, $2.50), and *Eyeless in Gaza*, by Aldous Huxley (Harper, $2.50).

Miss Mitchell's novel, a feast of seasoned prose, is a story of the Civil War and Reconstruction days. Built along the lines of Anthony Adverse (1,037 pages) it will be on lists of best-

(Continued on page 128)


Happy Holiday

Current HISTORY

AUGUST 1936

LOG *of* MAJOR CURRENTS

AT HOME:

MEASURED by such precepts as were in vogue up to the great War, or even during the Coolidge era, the trend of American political thought is definitely progressive, or liberal, as some prefer to call it. In the five platforms thus far presented, it is difficult to find more than hints of that stand-pat-ism about which we have heard so much. Most of the so-called radicals are given a fair, if not always a sympathetic, hearing, while most conservatives appear willing to consider advanced ideas. A Communist leader is given time on the air; the Socialist platform gets good publicity; and the Republican Party comes out for old-age pensions, marketing cooperatives, and the wholesale buying of land for public use.

The speed and revolutionary character of mechanical progress has trained us to tolerate startling innovations. As a matter of record, we have experienced one of the greatest revolutions in human history during the last hundred years. Moderately old men can point to greater changes since they were children than occurred during some periods of a thousand years in the past. Horizons have broadened with bewildering rapidity, shaking faith in many ancient landmarks and sometimes spreading the human intellect to a point of shallowness.

The notion that political change is made necessary by mechanical change grows more and more dominant. On every hand one hears the assertion that statecraft must borrow not only its policies but its ideals from industry. It has become a virtual obsession with us Americans to see a thoroughgoing analogy between the industrial and political systems. We seek inventors to improve government just as they have improved machinery. But—and this is where the analogy comes to a dead end—we expect them to do this without a scientific background or the application of scientific methods.

To put it another way, mechanical progress has come from the bottom up, from study and experimenting by individuals, or small groups of individuals. But we are expecting political progress to come from the top down, and through experiments which involve nation-wide credit and nation-wide risk. If, and when, mechanical experiments failed, as they often have, the public

was not injured. That explains why the public has suffered so little from the failures and gained so much from the successes. It would be just as well perhaps to keep this thought in mind with regard to political experiments.

Political changes are inevitable, of course. We cannot hope to advance without them. The all-important question, however, is whether to blunder into them on a grand and dreamy scale, or to fall back on the slow, exacting, scientific processes which have accomplished so much in the field of mechanics.

While the general character of necessary political changes is often indicated beyond the shadow of a doubt, they include a technique which cannot be appreciated, much less applied, without painstaking care. Take the relief problem, for instance; it is perfectly obvious that when a highly organized industrial system throws millions of people out of work through no fault of their own, we have little choice but to provide them with the necessities of life. But how to do this without destroying confidence and self-respect, without creating a permanent factor of dependency and a permanent social burden, is a different and a vastly more perplexing task. Naturally enough, we find ourselves hopelessly befuddled over the question of how to reduce relief through gradual reemployment. We were totally unprepared for the problem. We had no idea that it could, or would, arise. We lacked anything like a comprehensive grasp of its nature, much less of the practical ways in which to meet it, and we still lack anythink like accurate information as to its size or source. We do not know within a million how many unemployed there are in this country; how many of them should be classified as employable; how many of them have held, or would like to hold, permanent jobs. There is such wide disagreement as to facts, which ought to be easily obtainable, on the part of those who are supposed to know, that the average man finds himself badly confused and that pure guesswork enjoys about as good a rating as official statistics.

Courts and the Constitution

An unscientific attitude toward politics, statecraft, and government accounts for the constant development of unexpected situations and the weird improvising of programs to meet them. The utter inability to foresee what is just around the corner is, perhaps, the saddest commentary on American leadership and American public opinion as they have been produced by the most expensive educational system in this world. As a people we seem totally unable to guess what will happen next, even though it come about as a natural consequence of what we have been doing. One could cite innumerable examples in point. Three months ago, we were assuming that the Constitution and the Supreme Court would be paramount issues in this campaign. We took it for granted that the Democratic Party would resent those smashing decisions by which important phases of the New Deal were outlawed and would demand relief by way of Constitutional amendments, or curbs on the judiciary. We took it for granted that the Republican Party would express unequivocal loyalty to the Constitution as it had been interpreted by those decisions. No doubt such sentiments existed among the rank and file of both parties, but the official utterances are so tame and compromising as to be almost meaningless.

The Democratic Party pledges itself to go forward with the New Deal, with the half that has been scrapped presumably included, but without strongly



THE GRIM REAPER

—United Feature Service

or specifically challenging Constitutional limitations as established by the Supreme Court. The Republican Party, while glorifying the Constitution and the Supreme Court, is quite content to follow a candidate who declares for an amendment to the former, if adequate laws to protect women and children cannot be enacted without it.

Average people find it hard to see how the New Deal can be preserved or resurrected without expanding powers of the Federal Government, either by Constitutional amendments or a more liberal construction of Constitutional provisions by the Supreme Court. Average people are rather surprised at the lack of more definite expressions on this issue. Rightly or wrongly, they attribute this lack to the pussyfooting which has come to play such a prominent part in practical politics and which causes most of the platforms and pronouncements to be treated with indifference, if not skepticism.

Old Man Weather Intervenes

A third party, a labor war, and a drought—all unlooked for—served to complicate, if not to alter, the political outlook. This is particularly true of the last. White-hot weather has bleached not only the grain crop, but the program of crop control through subsidized reduction. Those who hope to adjust supply to demand by paying farmers to plant less, find themselves likely to be caught short. Buyers are hedging, sellers are holding, and city consumers are waiting anxiously to see how much more bread and meat are going to cost.

Such a condition can hardly fail to affect opinions and votes. It were profitless to rehash the gloomy reports and statistics which have been decorating the front page of every great newspaper. Millions of bushels of wheat, corn, and rye have withered beyond recall. An untold number of farmers



DON'T LET IT RATTLE YOU!

—Christian Science Monitor

have lost, not only a season's work, but their cash reserves as well. No less than 130,000 families which honestly tried to be self-sustaining, and who supposed they had become self-sustaining, are compelled to accept temporary relief. Small wonder that Secretary Wallace speculates in the possibility of a changing climate.

Farmers fortunate enough to dwell in regions of adequate rainfall can depend on good prices and ready markets. Some of their prosperity, however, will come at the expense of ruined neighbors. Nature has done more than her share in helping to balance conditions between agriculture and industry. Barring some miracle, there will be little cause to worry about overstocked grain-bins and exportable surpluses. This is the second time within two years that Nature has furnished us with a grim reminder that she can be depended upon to curtail crops every so often and that scarcity needs no human assistance.

Labor Troubles

Should steel be organized? If so, should the organizing be done on a craft, or on an industrial, union basis? Is organized labor about to split over this issue, or can a common meeting-ground be discovered?

On July 6, John L. Lewis, recognized leader of the industrial union movement, made an address over the radio in which he called upon steel workers to organize, warning them that industry would "provoke strife and bloodshed" in an effort to prevent such organization.

On July 7, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, made a statement in answer to Mr. Lewis's speech, declaring that Mr. Lewis and his organization were attempting to thwart the unionization of steel workers by causing a rift in the ranks of the A.F. of L. The C.I.O. (Committee for Industrial Organization), he said, had achieved nothing since its inception last November, "except division, discord, and confusion in the ranks of organized labor."

Mr. Lewis replied that the executive council of the A.F. of L. had no plan to organize the steel industry, and that the instructions of the last two conventions to start such organization had never been carried out. He also said that it was not yet too late for the A.F. of L. members to join with the C.I.O. in its present campaign to unionize the steel industry.

"If the A.F. of L. council chooses to join with the corporations composing the American Iron & Steel Institute, in fighting the C.I.O. now engaged in this major effort," said Mr. Lewis, "the shame of such a dishonorable action will lie on the heads of Mr. Green and his irreconcilable associates."

On July 8, Mr. Lewis refused to appear bfore the executive council of the A.F. of L. where he had been summoned to show cause why the industrial unions that are following his leadership should not be suspended or expelled. For the moment such action appeared to create a breach between the two factions which could not be repaired. Moderate labor leaders, however, realizing the calamity such a breach implied, hastened to throw their influence on the side of reconciliation. They were assisted by a spokesman of the Roosevelt Administration, but were equally apprehensive of the political consequences. While the storm still rages, it looks as though a way might be found to prevent an open and irreparable break between the A.F. of L. and the industrial union movement.

Among the more important unions threatened with suspension next November unless they abandon the C.I.O.

are: the United Mine Workers, with a membership of 540,000 (Mr. Green himself belongs); the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, with a membership of 225,000; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with a membership of 155,000; the International Typographical Union; the Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers International Union; the Oil Field, Gas and Refinery Workers; the United Textile Workers of America; and the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers union.

Thus we come to a three-way struggle which, however it turns out, is bound to create more or less discontent in the ranks of labor, as well as in the field of industry. The controversy between those favoring trade unionism on a craft basis and those who prefer to see it on an industrial union basis has probably reached a point where it cannot be settled without a show-down. It is unfortunate, of course, that this show-down should come at a time when the energy and resources of



MEN OF IRON

—*NEA Service*

the entire nation need mobilization for recovery. That, however, appears to be the usual American approach. As a people, we seem unable, or unwilling, to meet perfectly obvious issues until forced to do so by some emergency.

That Third Party

William Lemke, one of the stormiest petrels in Midwestern politics, caught both Republicans and Democrats off guard by tossing his hat in the ring as a Presidential candidate at the eleventh hour. Leaders of both parties were aware of various dissenting or diverting movements, but there seemed to be too many and too great a variety for anything like cohesive organization. It is possible, of course, that such a condition still exists, and that Mr. Lemke's entrance will prove just one more abortion in the field of politics. It is difficult to see how he can hope to gain anything of permanent value for himself or for his associates, but with the avowed backing of Father Coughlin, and the possible backing of the Townsendites, as well as of the late Huey Long's Share-The-Wealth movement, he might easily divert enough votes to determine the national election.

Assuming that most of the votes going to Mr. Lemke will be at the expense of President Roosevelt, Republicans are inclined to regard his advent as a Presidential candidate in the light of a Heaven-sent blessing. Democrats, on the other hand, are obviously worried in spits of their efforts to belittle its effect. No one expects it to carry more than one or two States, if any, but everyone is trying to guess how many votes it will attract—particularly in doubtful States. It is essentially the old agrarian movement over again; the Greenbacker, the Populist, the nonpartisan leader reasserting themselves. It is for inflation, or fiat money; for the mobilization of public credit on a grand and risky scale; for economic adventures which make the New Deal seem colorless and insipid. But seventy years of campaigning on such issues have built up a considerable following throughout the Midwest which, coupled with the support it may derive from other and newer appeals, is something to reckon with, particularly in sections where the line-up between the two old parties is fairly even.

Toward Recovery

No matter how more or less extraneous issues are dragged in, the real debate in connection with this campaign will be on the question of recovery. How much of a gain have we made, and to what can it be attributed? Administration spokesmen, of course, will argue that we have made great gains and that the New Deal should be blessed with a large share of the credit. Republicans will argue that recovery began when certain phases of the New Deal—particularly NRA and AAA—were outlawed by the Supreme Court.

Secretary Roper estimates that the national income will reach sixty billion dollars this year, which would represent an increase of twenty billion dollars, or 50 per cent, over 1932. His estimate is based on tables and methods of computation which the Department of Commerce have employed for several years. There is no reason to suppose that he is far wrong. The steady improvement of retail trade, farm prices, employment, payrolls, dividends, and production all indicate that we have made substantial progress in getting out of the depression. It is rather ridiculous to assume that this could have been done without the cooperation and support of millions of people, and that any one factor should be glorified as exclusively responsible. As a matter of common sense, all

classes, even those which seem to oppose specific plans and programs, have contributed something of value. Business men who accept governmental advice or regulation against their judgment and who did the best they could under conditions which they did not approve; laborers who continued to work for wages which they regarded as unjustly low; courts that disapproved measures in such a way as seemed to place them in opposition to recovery—all these and many more have helped, not only to clarify, but to better, a difficult situation.

It is not true that the New Deal was



KEEP HIM ON THE JUMP

—Christian Science Monitor

wholly injurious, or that the invalidation of some of its more important phases was wholly beneficial. It is not true that we made little or no progress until May 1935. It is not true that either the Administration at Washington or the Supreme Court did, or could have lifted this country out of the quagmire by themselves. It is not true that every experiment was unsound, or that drastic measures were unnecessary, even though they had to be abandoned.

The very fact that we have continued to recover both when the New Deal was fully in force and after much of it had been scrapped leaves no doubt that there has been a genuine mobilization of constructive forces throughout this country, or that the vast majority of people have helped in that mobilization. We can, of course, differ as to specific policies, but not to such an extent as implies the inability of the American people to act sensibly by themselves. We cannot glorify this or that program to such an extent that implies general helplessness. The average citizen is well aware of this and gives scant attention to political extremists whose arguments and assertions insinuate that he and all his neighbors are unable or unwilling to help themselves.

Cost of the New Deal

The Federal debt has increased approximately $13,000,000,000 since President Roosevelt took office. Many people are inclined to accept this as indicating the cost of the New Deal. Meanwhile, cash in the Federal Treasury has increased $2,200,000,000 since President Roosevelt took office. Treasury spokesmen feel that this should be deducted, leaving the net increase of Federal debt, or New Deal cost, at $10,800,000,000.

❖ ❖ ❖

The way some Republicans figure it:

Net increase of Federal debt—$10,800,000,000.

Add for bonds guaranteed by Government—$4,700,000,000.

Cost of New Deal—$15,500,000,000.

How some New Dealers figure it:

Net increase of Federal debt—$10,800,000,000.

Subtract profit through devaluation of dollar—$2,000,000,000.

Subtract loans to be repaid—$2,000,000,000.

Cost of New Deal—$6,800,000,000.

All of which leaves out some very important items. To begin with, the New Deal is still an unfinished job, and the books cannot be closed or even balanced at this time. Certain phases of it, such as relief, whether direct or indirect, aid to farmers, and credit for business must go on. Added to this, many cities, towns and States have been induced to borrow and spend in order to get their proportionate share of New Deal benefits. Some of them are committed to projects barely begun at this time.

In the final analysis, however, the question is not what the New Deal has, or will, cost but whether we are getting our money's worth. Was it necessary to spend such vast sums and have they been spent in the most efficient way? The average citizen is vitally interested in these two questions, particularly with regard to relief.



CHOPPING BLOCK

Executioner, to his victim:—"You needn't worry, you'll soon be out of pain, but as for me, I'll never hear the end of this."

—Evening Times, Glasgow

ABROAD:

LEAGUE OF NATIONS sanctions imposed against Italy nine months ago were ended on July 15. This was the formal and expected confirmation of the abandonment of Ethiopia to her fate. It was also a warning to all other small nations that their security stands only insofar as it happens to coincide with the interests of the Great Powers. Above all, the end of sanctions amounts to the candid admission that the League of Nations, in its present composition and in the spirit by which it has been actuated, is helpless against international gangsterism.

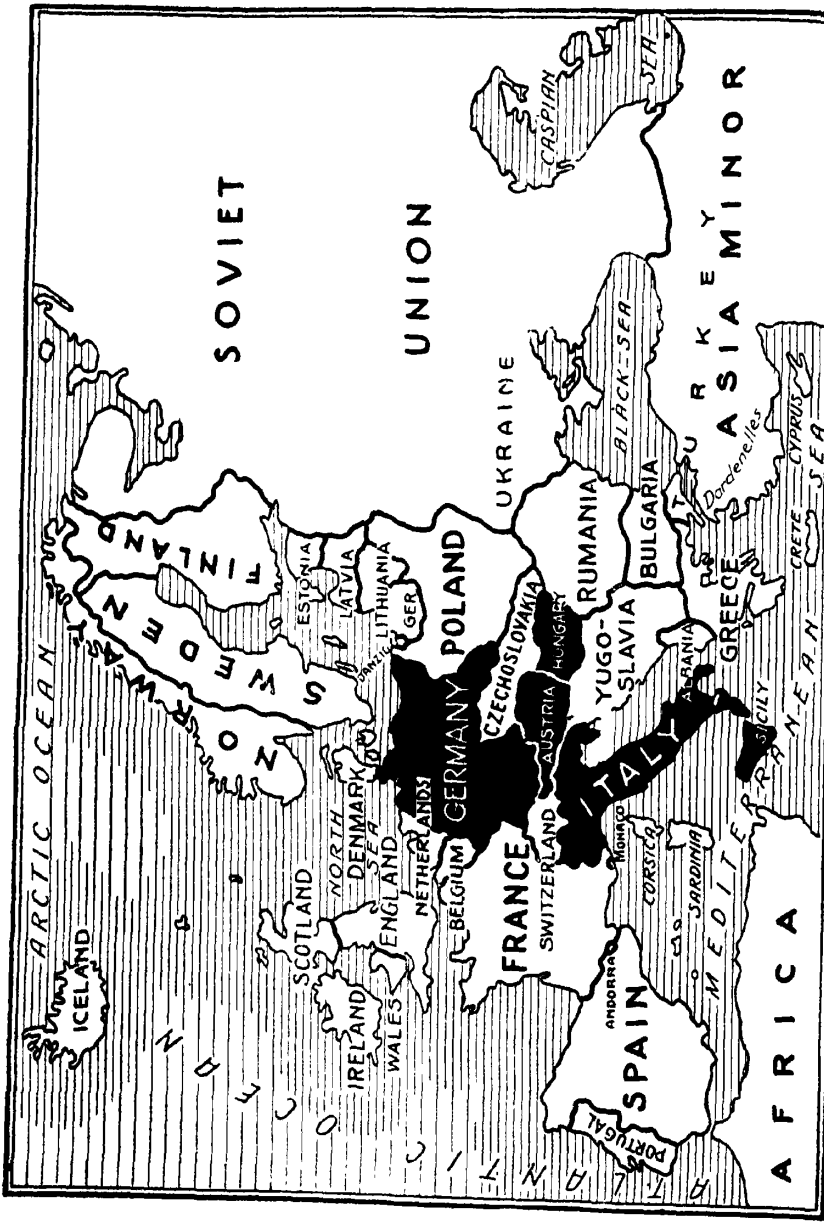
That is the measure of the failure of the League—or rather of its members. The extent of its success is that, for the first time in human history, a defeated sovereign, bereft of his kingdom by conquest, was able to stand before an organized body, representing the nations of the world, and state his case. Thwarted at every turn, Haile Selassie had but one chance to speak. But he asked the squirming delegates the question that hurt: "What measures do you intend to take? What reply have I to take back to my people?"

He spoke, not only for Ethiopia, but for all the small nations and all who hope for peace. He received no direct answer, nor was one necessary; silence, in this case, was eloquent.

❖ ❖ ❖

Gagging an Emperor

There is talk of "reforming" the League and turning it into what M. Litvinov describes as a combination of debating society and charitable institution. The Emperor of Ethiopia will



LINING UP IN CENTRAL EUROPE: the areas in black show potential alliance.

be able to tell the sponsors of this plan what the League will amount to as a forum of discussion.

Judged by the principles to which League members claim to subscribe, only one nation had a clearly justified case; only one statesman of all those connected with the Italo-Ethiopian situation emerged with an enhanced reputation, free from accusations of hypocrisy, equivocation, and cowardice. The nation was Ethiopia, the statesman, Haile Selassie.

Nevertheless, every attempt was made to prevent the latter from laying his case before the Geneva Assembly. Shortly before Anthony Eden told the British House of Commons that there was no longer a native government in Ethiopia, messages from the temporary administration left there were addressed to the Emperor, care of the British Foreign Office. Entrusted to the English monopoly, Cable and Wireless, Inc., they were routed by Italian Eritrea instead of Khartoum. Obviously, their embarrassing arrival was prevented.

In Geneva, attempts were made in the Committee of Credentials and the Steering Committee to deny the Emperor his right to speak, but they were spiked by Yugoslavia, Great Britain, and France. Then the Radio Broadcasting Company of Geneva stated that it would be unable to broadcast the Emperor's address unless he signed an agreement to say nothing inimical to any nation. When the Emperor did speak, it was only to be jeered at by Italian Fascist hoodlums in the press gallery. Finally, the Steering Committee transgressed the rules of procedure and shelved the Ethiopian resolutions calling for votes on the principle of transferring territory by force, and on a loan for the purpose of further resisting Italy.

In strong contrast were the popular receptions accorded to Haile Selassie on his arrival in London and Geneva. They emphasized his moral victory; he was right when he told the League members that "God and history will remember your judgment." But that will not help Ethiopia today.

Whose Blame?

All attempts collectively to apply sanctions are necessarily difficult. With that qualification, however, the Italo-Ethiopian test case for the League was virtually a set-up. Italy was known to be in financial straits; climate and conditions of warfare materially aided the sanctionists. It seemed that the League would gain a new lease on life through curbing Italy and then attacking the problem of the distribution of the world's resources—the policy laid down by Sir Samuel Hoare in September.

For the fiasco which followed, all nations are in a measure responsible; and insofar as their responsibility was greatest, France, and especially Great Britain, are primarily blameworthy.

It is apparent that conservative elements in the British Cabinet never sincerely believed in the principle of collective security and have effectively frustrated the efforts of those colleagues who attempted to carry out a League policy. But the British National Government is open to a graver charge than that of blundering. It has not only failed to execute a specific popular mandate, but, in effect if not in motive, it has taken a policy clearly laid down by the most pacific people in Europe and discredited it by half-hearted application. In other words, the National Government has led the way in creating circumstances in which the nationalism, imperialism, and rearmament near its heart fit the logic of the situation. For this reason, the storm of protest in England, led by Lloyd George, the Labor Party, and

Viscount Cecil is far less effective than it might have been otherwise.

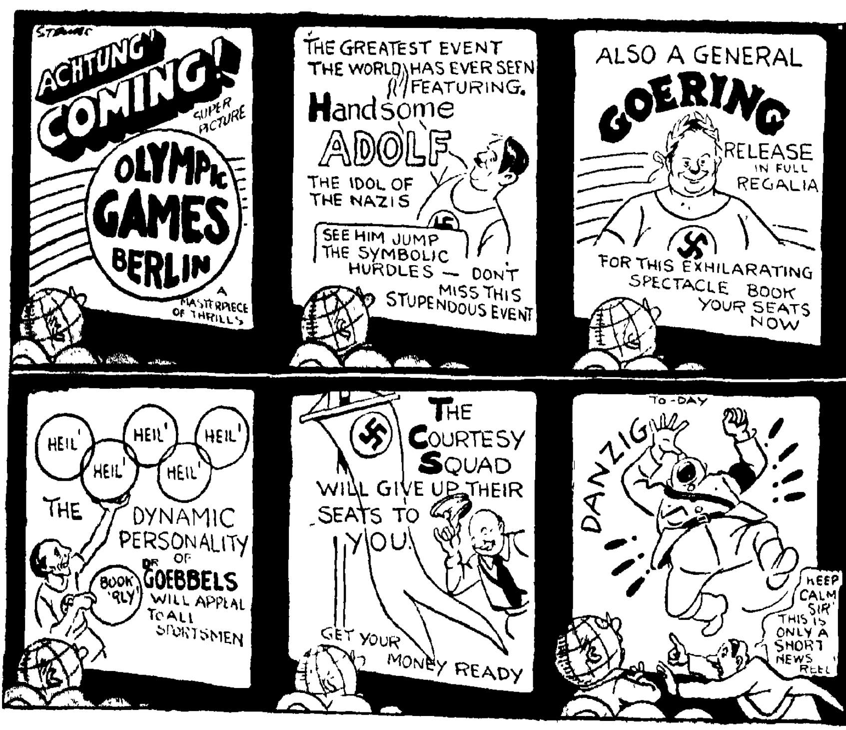
Britain's Woes

If there is a recording angel appointed to keep tab on the conduct of the world's statesmen and diplomats, he will mark down Haile Selassie for a reward in heaven; for it is certain that the Lion of Judah will not receive his due on this earth. And if there is such an angel, he has apparently decreed that the British Cabinet's sins of omission and commission shall be visited upon it here and now. Elected on a platform of a bigger and better Empire, the National Government's failure to curb Japan in Manchuria and Italy in Ethiopia has brought direct retribution in the form of a grim series of Imperial woes.

Dominions Disagree

In 1914, the British Dominions answered the first call to arms. Since then, they have gained their independence and achieved a national status which was sealed by the Act of Westminster in 1931. The League Covenant has taken the place of British dominance as the obligation calling for common action.

In July, the Covenant was repudiated. With the exception of South Africa (whose attitude was determined by a domestic racial problem), the British nations declared themselves in favor of lifting sanctions. How-



COMING EVENTS

—*Daily Express, London*

ever, it is evident that, like South Africa, their decisions were determined essentially by sectional considerations. Even if the Covenant is revived, Great Britain favors only regional military sanctions; which, obviously, would not obligate the Dominions.

The British Government would like to gain assurance of dominion support through an Imperial defensive and offensive alliance, and the Imperial Defense Committee has met. But it is certain that the Dominions will not bind themselves unconditionally to go to war with Great Britain; for example, the Premier of South Africa has stated that anyone still holding to such an idea should go back to the nursery.

Consequently, as Great Britain casts about for allies, she will have to rely on mere traditional association as assurance of Dominion support.

Imperial Lifelines Snarled

Great Britain's short route to the Indian Ocean and the Far East, via the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, has always been a vital Imperial link. Since Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia, it has been severely threatened. Egypt and the Sudan are squeezed between Italian forces; and the discomforting fact has just been discovered that, a year ago, France ceded to Italy Doumeirah Island overlooking the southern entrance to the Red Sea and now in the process of fortification. Troubles in Palestine, aggravated by the Italians, have been further accentuated by the new French Government's consideration of abandoning the Syrian mandate; and Palestine is not only the outlet for Iraq's oil, but a focal point for Imperial air communications. Worst of all has been the revelation that the airplane has outmoded British naval supremacy in the Mediterranean.

Consequently, England has been forced to turn to the longer route to the East—that via the Cape of Good Hope. Negotiations were undertaken with South Africa to permit construction of a naval base at Cape Town. That Dominion, however, was intent upon driving a hard bargain. The conditions she laid down were reported to be that: South Africa should not be obliged to participate in any British war; England should bear the cost of the base; the British native protectorates, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, should be handed over to the Union; and the Union should be allowed to share any Portuguese colonies that "fell on the market." The last-mentioned, it is reported, would be shared with Germany, whose agents are attempting to undermine the Salazar regime in Portugal.

If Great Britain is intent upon regaining her prestige as "an imperial and an oceanic" power—to use Sir Samuel Hoare's words—it is equally evident that the expansive ambitions of Oom Paul have been resurrected in the Union of South Africa.

Europe Dividing

June and July saw the unmistakable progress of attempts to weld the traditional "iron ring" around Germany. Even more marked were Hitler's efforts to break through the eastern links of this chain of actual or prospective alliances.

There are two schools of thought in Germany regarding the *Drang nach Osten*. One favors northeasterly extension of Nazi influence by way of Poland; the other prefers the idea of penetration to the southeast by way of Austria, the Little Entente, and through to the Ukraine.

Both concepts have been pursued so effectively that, in July, they provoked serious reactions: in the north, the League dispute over Danzig, and in

the south, a proposed Italo-Russian alliance to checkmate German designs. The Nazis must decide in which direction they would next try their strength, but meanwhile, in their efforts to break through the encircling alliances, they have strengthened the determination of the *status quo* forces.

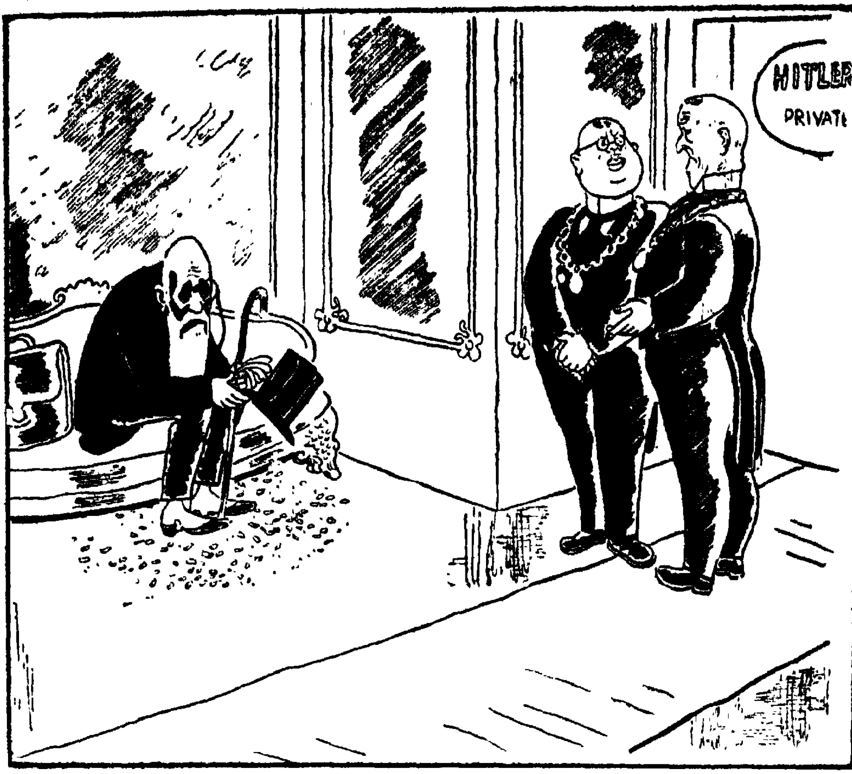
Danzig and Poland

Germany presented the League with another test when the Nazis in the Free



DANZIG IN THE DARK

—United Feature Syndicate



AT THE GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE

"There is still that Englishman in the ante-room waiting for a reply to the questionnaire."
"Um . . . er . . . to . . . give him something to read."

—*Il Travaso, Rome*

City of Danzig defied the League administration and appeared on the way to a *putsch* after conducting a reign of terrorism.

Although the League held firm against Herr Greiser's vehement attacks and gratuitous insults, the success or failure of Nazi ambitions in Danzig depend upon circumstances nearer the battleground itself.

While the elections of 1933 gave the Nazis control of the Volkstag and Senate, there has arisen a strong anti-Nazi "People's front", which claims a majority of the almost exclusively German population of the city, and which is prepared to rely upon its own strength as much as upon what support it might receive from the League.

The second factor which is causing the Nazis to think twice before they embark upon any precipitate steps is the attitude of Poland, a country which Herr Hitler sincerely desires as an ally. At present, Poland hangs in an uneasy balance between the German and the Franco-Soviet camps. Internal politics are divided between the Generals and the Colonels. The former, supported by the industrial groups are pro-French, anti-Nazi, and democratic; but the Colonels, backed by the large landowners, are fascist in outlook and pro-Nazi. Today, the Generals hold the reins and the Prime Minister is their representative, although Colonel Beck holds the foreign portfolio.

The latter has favored Nazi Germany and has been cool towards the League. Yet the Polish balance of power is such that a Nazi coup in Danzig—especially since that port commands its Polish rival, Gdynia—might well have the direct result of driving Poland into the anti-German alliance. That is an eventuality which makes the Nazis hesitate.

Bad Debts in the Balkans

There is a Machiavellian ingenuity about German economic penetration throughout Central Europe and the Balkans, to further which Dr. Schacht went on tour in mid-June. Briefly, German importers place large orders for the raw materials upon the export of which these countries depend; the goods are delivered and then the importers find, to their regret, that exchange restrictions prevent payment in cash. There is nothing to be done about it save that the exporter should accept German commodities, preferably arms, in return

The fruits of this policy are that Germany has supplanted France, especially, and Italy as the dominant economic power in southeastern Europe. For instance, she now accounts for 48% of Bulgaria's exports and 54% of her imports; she has increased her purchases of Rumanian oil sixfold since 1933; the French share of Yugoslav exports has dwindled to almost nothing; and Italian trade with Jugoslavia has been cut off by sanctions—all to the benefit of the Reich, which has also been awarded substantial contracts for the construction of heavy industries in Yugoslavia.

It would be naive to see no more than economic motives in all this. Nazi political influence has grown correspondingly, and, in its disruptive effect upon the French-inspired Balkan and Little Ententes, threatens to remake the map of Europe as it has been known since 1919.

Little Entente Weakens

The Little Entente continues to stress its unity, but its faith in France as a guarantor of its security has seriously diminished. Berlin is trying to foster in Rumania a union between the German elements, which are predominantly Nazi, and the Right Wing, which has been materially strengthened by the merging of the Agrarians into the Christian-National Party. The Nazis and the Rumanian Right find a common basis in the anti-Semitism which is rabid in Rumania. Berlin's influence is powerful; the leader of the National-Peasant Party has claimed that 60 Bucharest newspapers are subsidized. Should these two groups be united on a Nazi platform, the present even balance in the Government between the pro-French group (led by Foreign Minister Titulescu) and the pro-Germans (Right-Radicals), would undoubtedly swing in favor of Germany.

But if the possibility of a Nazi Rumania, surrounding Czechoslovakia and opening the way to the Ukraine, gives the French camp gray hairs, Yugoslavia is equally a source of worry Hitherto, that nation has leaned on the Little Entente and an alliance with Turkey. Both these props imply relations with Moscow. But the Soviets have not yet been officially recognized; French prestige has fallen since the Ethiopian war; German trade has increased; and Yugoslavs are beginning to wonder whether the Reich would not be a better protector against Italy than the French alliance.

Checkmate in Austria

While the Nazi drive to the southeast seemed to be running on schedule,

at least in Yugoslavia and Rumania, it encountered a sudden stumbling block in Austria.

Rumors of every kind were accentuated by Chancellor Schuschnigg's silence regarding his intentions. His interest in the Hapsburgs was well well known; yet it was obvious, in view of the warnings issued by the Little Entente, that restoration of the monarchy would throw central Europe into chaos. It seemed entirely logical that the Nazis should secretly favor Otto, in that the results of his return would play directly into their hands. On the other hand, lengthy conferences between the Austrian Chancellor and the German Minister, Von Papen, lent to the suspicion that a deal would be made with Germany, to whom some observers virtually conceded Austria.

If those who suspected a German deal were right, its eventual nature was unexpected: Schuschnigg, backed by Mussolini, openly defied Hitler, and held out for German recognition of Austrian independence and non-interference in her internal affairs. What is more, he won his point.

There are two annexes to the treaty: one is that Austria should maintain an army sufficient to guard its independence—a provision aimed against the Little Entente; the other is the assurance that restoration is not a "topical problem."

Fascist Bloc vs. Stresa Front

There were two reasons for Hitler's unexpected mood of sweet reasonableness over Austria: A fear that his designs on southeastern Europe would provoke an Italo-Russian alliance, and hope that he might join Germany and Austria to Italy and Hungary in a bloc which would divide France and Russia.

There remains the fact that the basis of the Austro-German treaty is the recognition that both are Germanic nations. Some observers see in it a peacefully achieved *anschluss*. That feature will not be to Mussolini's liking, and, again, Germany and Italy are rivals in Yugoslavia. The Russians, on their part, have reason to fear for the independence of Czechoslovakia, with which they have a treaty of mutual assistance. Nor is there any indication that Hitler has abandoned his ambitions towards the Ukraine.

Italy and Russia consequently have a substantial common interest in opposing Germany in the southeast. Nevertheless, the threat of a fascist bloc has given Mussolini a trump card in negotiations for the revival of the Stresa front. Great Britain has already postponed discussions of the "reform" of the League until autumn, by which time Italy will have had time to consolidate her position in Ethiopia. Under the circumstances, England might find it difficult to refuse an Italian request for a loan for that purpose. All told, this much is certain: *il Duce* is in a position to exact a handsome price for any assistance he might be persuaded to lend against Germany.

Russia Goes Liberal

While M. Blum was trying to discover whether he would go down in history as the French Kerensky, the French Giollitti, or the man who took France from the clutches of the "200 families" and gave it to the people, the Soviet Government, generally branded as one of the ranking tyrannies, took a long step towards its avowed objective of a democratic socialist state.

The highlight of the new constitution is the provision for a House of Representatives, to be elected by a secret ballot, the franchise extending to all citizens, male and female, over 18 years of age. A second chamber, the House of Nationalities, is to be



FELLOW SUFFERERS

Negus: "Times are bad for the colored races, Mr. Louis."
—Il 420, Florence, Italy

chosen by the Provincial Councils. The two Houses jointly are to elect the Council of Commissars, the Presidium (31 members) and the President. Judges are to be popularly elected and, together with police officials, are to be responsible to an Attorney General appointed by the Houses.

Although this projected political organization is similar to the British and the American models, only its operation will reveal the extent to which Russia has been democratized. There will be only one party and no opposition in the American sense; "constructive criticism" is to fulfill that function. Nevertheless, the mere act of voting insures at least a modicum of free speech and free discussion, and the airing which the new proposals have been given in the press and the Communist organizations indicate a genuine desire to propagate these principles.

It is apparent that the Soviets, confident in the belief that the national house is securely in order, feel that the time has come to loosen the restrictions on political liberty. And the announcement of the new constitution was nicely timed to woo the friendship of the democratic powers.

Far East

Just as there might have been a different story to tell about the British Empire had England been faced by a united Europe, so Japan has followed the principle of "divide and rule" with respect to China. That much considered, the degree of national unity which Chiang Kai-Shek has been able to maintain has been remarkable—the more so in that it has been maintained by military force, rather than by economic reconstruction.

The Canton Government, however, has always been nominally, rather than actually, subservient to the Central Nanking Government, and the uprising of the South was not, as Chiang Kai-Shek preferred to believe, a "rebellion", but a civil strife between rival war lords. Although ostensibly directed against Japan, the bid for power made by Kwangsi and Kwantung was so patently to Tokyo's interest that Nanking charged it was fomented by Japan as a pretext for further "intervention." The Japanese military attaché at Shanghai admitted that the Kwangsi forces had had Nipponese advisers, and his counterpart in Nanking tactlessly stated that "Japan, of course, sells munitions to whomever will pay for them." The further accusation that Kwangsi had been loaned $1,500,000 was not confirmed.

More than 1,000,000 troops faced each other through the provinces lying to the north of Kwangsi and Kwantung—Fukien, Kiangsi, Hunan, and Kweichow—while Chiang Kai-Shek

stalled in order to repair the railway line from Nanking to the scene of hostilities. As the plenary session of the Kuomintang drew near, however, Kwantung called off hostilities, serious defections were reported in the Kwangsi ranks, and the threat of civil war seemed to have subsided, leaving Chiang Kai-Shek in the saddle.

Question Marks

For the time being, Chiang Kai-Shek and his policy of passive resistance to Japan had won an unexpectedly easy victory. But the future asks several leading questions.

There is a rising flood of anti-Japanese sentiment in China. As Japan has defined herself as the "bulwark" against communism, will she prove to be that religion's best friend by forcing Chinese Nationalist sentiment to align itself with the Reds as Japan's only determined opponents? Again, Chiang Kai-Shek's semi-fascist government must suppress this antagonistic movement by force. Where is he going to obtain the money to sustain his government while the important revenues from the North China customs are cut off? Is the explanation to be found in a Sino-Japanese anti-communist pact, reported in the Hongkong *Telegraph?* Or is the Nanking Government banking on the supposition that the Japanese cannot afford further peaceful penetration and realize that forceful invasion would throw China into a chaos of desperate resistance which would make it valueless as a region to be exploited commercially? Finally, the United States has invested in China some $250,000,000, and England, more than $1,000,000,000. The Nanking Government represents, not only the Chinese army, business men, bankers, and the ruling agrarian class, but also the foreign interests. In fact, a writer in the *New Statesman and Nation* makes the assertion that, "If the Chinese Red Armies had received as much material help as the Kuomintang has from Europe and America, the hammer and sickle would now be floating over China." The fall of the Nanking Government is against the interests of England and the States. What part are they playing or what action do they propose to take?

Pan America

Pan American nations continue to cool off in their enthusiasm for the League, either from motives of indifference or disgust.

Following the examples of Brazil, Guatemala, Paraguay, and Costa Rica, Nicaragua resigned. Mexico withdrew its representative on the steering committee, as a token of disapproval of the way in which that body was trying to sidetrack embarrassing Ethi-



CHINESE

"Good morning, General, what do you wish?"

"Bring me my diary. I have forgotten whom I intended to declare war against today."

—Il 420, Florence, Italy

opian resolutions. Chile threatened to retire from Geneva unless the League was so reformed as to make the imposition of sanctions voluntary. (It looks as though her conditions of continued membership will be realized, but membership in that kind of League would not make much difference anyway.) Argentina came forth with a flourish, demanding that the League observe the Stimson doctrine of non-recognition in the Italo-Ethiopian case, and the Argentine delegate made a lofty but vague speech. This piece of pacific bravado was somewhat marred by the fact that Argentina did not exercise her right to second, and force to a vote, the proposed Ethiopian resolution concerning non-recognition.

During this time, the projected American "League of Nations", up for discussion at the still-forthcoming Buenos Aires conference, was making little more progress than its Genevan inspiration. Washington has declared that there will be on the agenda only those subjects which it is unanimously agreed should be discussed. As Chile has turned her thumbs down on the American "League of Nations" item, it appears that Pan American nations which do not like Geneva will have no alternative to which they may turn.



OTTO TO THE RESCUE

Mussolini: "Listen to me, John Bull, or I will throw Otto at you."

—*Mucha, Warsaw*

SCIENCE

"ALLERGY" is a comparatively new name to the medical world, embracing a multitude of minor irritations—the result of man's sensitiveness to specific fruits, fish, flowers, weeds, dirt, and vegetables. Of all so-called allergic diseases, the most dramatic is "hay fever", an ailment which is not induced by hay, nor is it a fever. Approximately 4,000,000 Americans are afflicted by one or more pollens blown about by the wind from the middle of March to the end of October. Periodically a "cure" is announced capable of alleviating or completely eliminating the sniffling affliction.

Recently another "cure" was proclaimed from St. George's Hospital, London, where doctors have succeeded in electrically implanting a therapeutic drug into the nasal tissues. By applying gauze soaked in zinc salt solution to the irritated membrane and using a slight electric current, minute particles of ionized zinc are injected into the nasal tissue. Combatting hay fever in this manner the doctors exploit a technique evolved early in the century by Dr. Stephane Leduc, French physician. The method is sound, but the explanation of how and why these ionized zinc particles check and, in some instances, seemingly eliminate hay fever stops far short of being accepted without challenge. The St. George experimenters state that the metal injected into the nasal tissues precipitates proteins

which action directly results in desensitizing the afflicted body to all pollens.

Dr. Walter Walzer of the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital dissents with equal assurance, claiming that far from inducing a curative action the ionized zinc cauterizes and deadens the tissues, and in some cases, after continued use, causes complications, such as inflammation of the sinus. Experimental authority supports both the English and American theories. For more than ten years, Americans have experimented with this type of therapeutic treatment. As recently as February 1936, Drs. Samuel Garfin and Samuel Pearl of the Boston City Hospital reported that they had effected extraordinary cures in cases where hay fever was complicated with rhinitis and asthma.

The most generally used treatment for hay fever is pollenosis therapy. After testing the skin to determine which pollen irritates the sufferer, immunization is effected through a series of injections of the specific pollen. Although this cure is reliable in many cases, neither doctors nor patients will admit its general efficacy.

Other remedies for so-called allergic conditions are being brought to the attention of the public. Included with lobsters, strawberries, and eggs, cow's milk is a prime offender against the digestive organs of certain sensitive individuals. Babies, in particular, are unable to digest it without dilution or other modifications. Business men have exploited this idiosyncrasy so extensively that hundreds of prepared baby milks are now offered for sale. Enthusiastic advertising men proclaim that some of the concoctions are so palatable that a discriminating infant prefers them to mother's milk. Doctors are not so sanguine about eliminating mother from the formula for the care and feeding of infants.

Doctor I. Newton Kugelmass states: "There is no substitute for breast milk, and there can be no single formula for the universal feeding of infants." Despite this statement, however, the doctor endorses cow's milk if it is specifically adapted to the individual baby. He favors "adapting the formula to the infant and not the infant to the formula."

Following this not-altogether-new line of experiment, Dr. Kugelmass has discovered that each baby poses a specific problem, the solution of which hinges on determining the physiological conditions of digestion. Further, the Doctor has discovered that simple physical proportions are enough to indicate what milk modifications are necessary. For all purposes, including dietary, babies are categorized as "linear" or long-bodied, "medial" or evenly proportioned, and "lateral", or broad-bodied. After studying 500 infants, Doctor Kugelmass learned that the linears produced more gastric juice than the laterals and, as a result, were subject to fewer digestive disorders. As a rule, laterals require one-to-one dilution of cow's milk, medials a two-to-one dilution, while linears require three-to-one dilution, with 10 percent carbohydrate and vitamins D and C included in all concentrates.

Coupled with the requirements of different body-builds, allowances must be made for predisposition to disease. And on examination it would seem that only rare babies are normal in this respect. Of the 500 infants that Doctor Kugelmass studied, 65 percent were allergic (unable to take certain foods without an accompanying illness), 30 percent were neuropathic, and 5 percent lymphatic (pale and listless) and hydrolabile (variable in body fluids). But, despite these formidably named conditions, mothers are assured that it is as easy to ferret

them out as it is to determine a baby's build. To restore normalcy, the allergics are fed evaporated, vegetable, or goat's milk, the neuropathics thick-feeding, acid-feeding, or evaporated milk, and the hydrolabiles acid or evaporated milk.

W. O. Frohring of Shaker Heights, Ohio, also has a solution for the allergics who cannot normally digest milk. He operates on the theory that casein, albumin, globulin and other milk proteins are the chief offenders. Since heat changes protein, Frohring heats pasteurized milk in air-tight containers for two hours at approximately 240 degrees F. Apparently the chemical change in the proteins under heat makes the treated milk acceptable to allergic babies. With the addition of a little sugar and lactic acid, the milk thus prepared will not curdle.

❖ ❖ ❖

Dr. Robert James of the Westinghouse research laboratories has devised an ultra-violet ray lamp which kills micro-organisms (molds, spores, and bacteria), the chief cause of meat, cake, and bread spoilage. To meet the requirements of butcher and baker, Doctor James has developed half a dozen different lamps which destroy the germs without destroying the product.

Special lamps placed in a meat storage chamber radiate ultra-violet rays that check the development of spores and bacteria. Ordinarily beef must age in a temperature of 35 degrees from six to eight weeks before it is fit to sell. Employing the ray equipment, Doctor James raises the storage temperature to 65 degrees and reduces aging time to four or five days. Packing companies should have little difficulty in visualizing the profit accruing from this treatment of beef. An added advantage is the increase of moisture in the air which prevents meat from losing upward of 35 per cent of its weight by evaporation. Doctor James claims that eight lamps, operated at a minimum cost, will protect 1,400 pounds of meat from micro-organisms, while higher temperature speeds up the aging process.

For the baker's problems, Doctor James also has a solution. Although some mold spores survive high oven temperatures, the greatest contamination occurs when bread or cake is taken out of the oven to cool. By equipping a wrapping machine with an ultra-violet lamp and allowing both cake and wrapper a five-second exposure to the irradiation, Doctor James has been able to increase the mold-free life of the product about thirty-six hours.

AUTHORS *in this ISSUE:*

Dorothy Waring (*An Interview with Otto*) began life in Montgomery, Alabama; the year, she states frankly, was 1900. The Horace Mann School, next the Columbia School of Journalism, began her education. Short stories occupied her for several years after that. Soon, she became editor for the Macaulay Company, book publishers, and while with them "ghosted" two novels and suffered all the woes of humanity as contributor of a "problem" column for a magazine. She hunted information for the Congressional Committee Investigating un-American Activities; took a position with the British General Press as political correspondent; and finally produced the book *American Defender*, which was published last year. *Hitlerism, The Iron Fist in Germany*, by "Nordicus", was her publishing venture; the book received good notices, but in 1932 Hitler seemed unimportant. The work was thought to be making a mountain out of a molehill—an opinion which has since undergone certain revisions.

❖ ❖ ❖

Wallace S. Sayre (*Major Party Platforms of 1936*) made his debut in the June CURRENT HISTORY with *Political Groundswell.*

❖ ❖ ❖

Frank C. Hanighen (*The Latest French Revolution*) wrote *Propaganda on the Air*, which appeared in our June issue.

❖ ❖ ❖

David Goldberg (*The Holy Land Looks West*) is listed in the Who's Who of American Jewry as a rabbi and journalist, although he recently gave up the former. He was born in White Russia and received part of his education in the Imperial School for Survey in that country. Emigrating to the United States, he continued his secular studies at the Polytechnic of Fort Worth, Texas; the Texas Christian University, and the University of Chicago. During the World War he was commissioned as the first and only chaplain of the Jewish faith in the United States Navy, and he is a lieutenant in the Naval Reserve today. As a journalist, Dr. Goldberg was formerly editor of the *Texas Jewish Herald*, and now writes for the *Boston Globe*. He is author of *The Debacle of Religion in Russia*, and of *Sussman Sees It Through*, the latter having won the plaudits of the press as a cool, impartial survey and philosophic study of the Jew in Soviet Russia today.

❖ ❖ ❖

H. R. Ekins (*Chinese Puzzle*) appeared in the May and June issues of CURRENT HISTORY.

❖ ❖ ❖

Lord Strabolgi (*Battleship's Doom*) was the Right Honorable Commander J. M. Kenworthy, M.P., ex-officer in the British Navy, before he succeeded to his father's title. He has written a great deal on naval subjects, including a book, *The Real Navy*, which was published in London in 1932. He has contributed in this country to *Asia* and other publications.

❖ ❖ ❖

J. H. Landman (*Sterilization*) is an internationally known expert on this subject. His book, *Human Sterilization* (Macmillan Co.), is recognized as the leading treatise of its kind, while his work generally in the field of eugenics and sterilization has won him a fellowship in the Association for the Advancement of Science.

❖ ❖ ❖

W. Walter Crotch (*Will Austria Go Democratic?*) writes from Paris, where he is editor-in-chief of the International Press Bureau. An English author and journalist of long standing he contributes to the British reviews—such, for instance, as the *Quarterly, The Nineteenth Century, The Contemporary, The Fortnightly, The National and the English Review.* He is recognized as an authority in the broad field of international politics, but Central Europe has been his particular study.

❖ ❖ ❖

Krishnalal Shridharani (*Tagore*) is the author of six books in Gujerati, one of the principal languages of India. Born in Bhavnagar, in 1911, he was a student at Mahatma Gandhi's university at Ahmedabad, and was one of Gandhi's companions on the famous march to the sea in 1930. Mr. Shridharani subsequently completed his college work at Tagore's international university, and, coming here, received an A.M. and M.S., the latter from the Columbia School of Journalism.

❖ ❖ ❖

Duncan Aikman (*Tugwelltown*) began a newspaper career on the Pacific Coast. Subsequently, he became Washington correspondent of a Los Angeles paper, and frequent contributor to the *New York Times*

❖ ❖ ❖

Albert Handy (*Taxes in the Soviet*) is a former newspaperman, at present lecturing on taxation at New York University. He is author of *Inheritance and Other Like Taxes* (Prentice-Hall) and *New York Estate Tax* (Matthew Bender & Co.), in addition to numerous magazine and newspaper articles on the subject.

❖ ❖ ❖

Johannes Steel (*Leon Blum*) was associated with Germany's Department of Commerce as economic adviser before the advent of Hitlerism. He met Leon Blum before the latter's rise to power, and he speaks of him as one of the most forceful personalities of our day. Mr. Steel was formerly foreign correspondent for the *New York Post*. He is author of *The Second World War*, and has contributed articles to leading American publications.



© International News

WHERE ARCHDUKE OTTO WAITS: The chateau at Steenockerzeel.

an interview with OTTO

BY DOROTHY WARING

At Steenockerzeel, he waits. In troubled Austria, a few hundred miles away, is the Hapsburg throne. Is it for Otto? Will he take it? When?

To Baron von Wiesner, legitimist leader and representative of the Hapsburgs, I explained that we in America were keen for first-hand news of the Royal Family. Vague articles, which spoke of impending moves to restore Otto to the throne or of a surprise *putsch* were no longer satisfying our curiosity about the Restoration. Surely the young Archduke must have some direct message to send us, some graphic picture to paint of the Hapsburgs' plans. Hopefully I had come to His Excellency to procure an audience for me.

"His Majesty has not received a journalist in five years," von Wiesner told me, "but I will see what can be done."

During the days of waiting in Vienna, I endeavored to get a clear idea of the sympathies of the Austrian people. After speaking with every conceivable type, I learned of the unqualified support of the Monarchists. The remaining thirty percent of political prestige is divided among Socialists and Nazis. Obviously, Catholic Austria has no room for agnostics.

Patrons of the coffee-houses spoke



Still hopeful: Archduke Otto, who sees Austrian throne at hand.

©Pictures, Inc.

of "His Majesty" with little regard for the treaty of St. Germain which, in 1918, had declared Austria a repub-

lic. To them it is as though President Miklas never existed. Only Prince Starhemberg and his anti-Monarchist *Heimwehr* (whose headquarters were conveniently close to the Italian Ministry of Propaganda) seemed to stand in the way of making their dreams a reality. Vienna is truly the Imperial City. En route to Belgium, Austrian peasants impressed on me their desire to remember the palmy days of their forefathers under the good Franz Joseph.

The Chateau at Steenockerzeel, seat of the exiled Hapsburgs, is hardly an hour's ride from the bustling city of Brussels. Historically, it is centuries removed, its round towers jutting above the stately old elms amidst which it stands, unconquered since the thirteenth century. It presents a picture of medieval dignity and fortitude, a symbol of faith and courage to the family which is marking time upon its ancient floors. A few hundred miles away, in Austria, the door to the Imperial Palace Schönbrunn is ready and waiting to be opened. Otto has the key. But how long will it take him to cover the territory?

I had my invitation procured for me by Baron von Wiesner. In Vienna I had been instructed to appear simply clad. The Empress Zita does not care for flamboyancy or display of any kind. Simplicity is the keynote of the Court. Further instructions ruled that I should never turn my back to His Majesty.

Arriving at the castle it was evident to me that any form of pretension would have struck a cacophonous note upon the harmonious vista which lay before me; it had a fairyland quality. The scene was like an illustration from an Andersen tale—even to the swans which glided phantom-like across the pond beside the Chateau.

Crossing the bridge, I feared any minute to catch the moans of the wicked King imprisoned in the oubliette below. Surely, some medieval servant would appear to ask my business! Instead, a neatly-groomed valet answered my pull of the bell, then turned me over to a maidservant whom I followed up a winding stair. So far, I had little evidence of the poverty described by the press—which, incidentally, has made the Imperial Court apprehensive of publicity. But impressions of luxury would not do, either; the Court has no desire to impress the public with the idea of monarchist extravagance.

Baron Mirbach, Otto's Aide-in-Command, received me appraisingly. He reiterated the instructions von Wiesner had given me. On the stroke of three I was presented to "His Majesty, the Emperor and King Otto." His mother, the Empress Zita, was not there—in the flesh.

A tall, youthful figure rose to greet me. A cordial smile bade me welcome. Otto extended an aristocratic hand. A firm grasp assured me that I might be at ease. Still, I knew and must remember to address him as "Your Majesty", or, if we spoke German, to use "Euer", the most formal mode of speech. Should I speak of his brothers or sisters, they must be as "Imperial Highness." To my great relief, "His Majesty" addressed me in perfect English, one of the dozen languages he speaks fluently.

Sitting opposite the attractive young "Emperor and King" in the room where many other rulers had sat, I became a wilful victim of his magnetism. Rarely have I heard a man of his years speak with such erudition and fluency. Diverse as his interests are, their main stem is politics. When our conversation turned from conventional small talk into political channels, his full cheeks flushed with eagerness.

"Tell me more of President Roosevelt and Father Coughlin," said Otto, after a discussion of American affairs.

Steenockerzeel June 10th 1936.

Dear Mrs. Waring,

His Majesty the Emperor and King Otto most graciously has ordered me to make you know, that He will be pleased to receive you here Friday June 12 th at three o'clock p.m. I would be much obliged if you kindly would acknowledge the receipt of this letter as soon as possible by telephone (Brussels 15 - 35 - 00)

By order of His Majesty
the Emperor and King Otto:

Baron Mirbach

"Royalty" and the journalist: A facsimile of the author's invitation.

As I spoke, I felt he could have enlightened *me,* so well informed was he about our problems.

"Is communism a menace in America, or is it just temporary hysteria?" he wanted to know.

I assured him that the menace of communism is a point of view.

"I am anxious to hear something of the man Huey Long, likewise your Congressman who led the Nazi investigation."

So we chatted about America's late *enfant terrible,* and about Congressman Dickstein.

"Do you Americans realize how we in Europe look upon your country today? Much as the mentor of the world. It is up to you to set the example of right living, consistent economic plans. America is a young country; yet we feel we can learn from her, and I have great faith in youth.

"The Portuguese Government is headed by a man in his early thirties. The Cabinet is composed of young men. They are doing well. Degrelle, the Rexist leader in Belgium, is my age," said Otto warmly.

He repeated this later in our con-

versation as a bolster to his courage, a whistle in the dark. But I was anxious to learn of his plans—untold news. The stacks of papers from all over the world which were neatly piled atop the vast piano obviously had been read thoroughly; I wanted more than a digest of affairs at large.

"What course will Austria take, Your Majesty?"

"There are only two roads which are open: those to Monarchism, or to National Socialism. There is no room in my country for a liberal movement," he answered.

I recalled a disturbance which Otto had created on another occasion when he was purported to have said that when he became Emperor, there would be no room for Socialists in Austria. This statement had considerably embarrassed Chancellor Schuschnigg, who, trying hard to keep the good will of the proletariat as a fortress against Nazi-ism, would have preferred it not to have been broadcast. Otto, however, remained adamant in his conviction that the high road of monarchism ran parallel with Austria's deliverance from instability.

I felt convinced as he talked that this well-groomed, intelligent young Hapsburg might easily be fitted to rule the country to which he is so stalwartly attached.

From my questions regarding the Restoration I gathered that:

Every move at the court is being watched by constituents and oppositionists. The imminence of the Restoration is the favorite topic of conversation in Austria and the Little Entente—and in Italy, too. Mussolini is antipathetic to any move which may restore the Hapsburgs, knowing the Restoration will mean war for Austria. Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania stand in fear of an annexation by the Monarchy, equal to Austria's dread of a German *anschluss*. Italy would rather prevent the Restoration than have the Little Entente fight Il Duce's grievance against Monarchism for her. Hence Mussolini's support of the *Heimwehr*. Other neighboring countries prefer not to discuss the situation. Their spokesmen say the danger of the Restoration is a permanent one, if, indeed, it is not imminent. Austrian legitimists who swarm the land smile cryptically. They know the revolution will come overnight. Though loyal, *pro tem*, to the Government which many of them are serving, they are waiting for the hour to strike.

In Germany, the triumvirate—Hitler, Goebbels, and Goering—look upon any gesture towards Restoration as a midget's protest against a giant's power. Indulgently, Hitler watches the subversive movements of the faction, which, Otto is convinced, is the only way to save Austria from National Socialism. With "His Majesty" on the throne, Germany, like Italy, realizes that she can engineer another war by way of the Balkans. Momentarily, *Der Fuhrer* chooses to encourage Austria's move toward Monarchy. And legitimists who are supporting a portended *coup* continue to pour schillings into Otto's pockets, nor will they stop when he reigns again; the Monarchists have many schillings.

There are those who claim the Restoration will stand symbolically as an impasse to German troops, who, at any day, may be ordered to march as ruthlessly through Austria as, twenty-two years ago they goose-stepped through Belgium. Momentarily, Austria lies tranquil—the bridge to war or peace. But Hitler's seven-league boots can easily step across the bridge into Central Europe.

When I asked His Majesty what store he put in the gossip that *Der Führer* had withdrawn propaganda

from Austria in an effort to redouble it in the Central European states, he smiled and said, "Germany's power could have been suppressed as late as March 27, when Hitler's troops entered the Rhineland—now it is too late. 'But let other states grow by war, happy Austria grows by marriages.' "

He agrees with other European leaders who wisely prescribe England and France becoming bedfellows, distasteful though it may be, as a defense against the net Germany is so skilfully weaving over Europe.

We discussed the rising tide of internal unrest in France and Belgium, and that which is threatening Holland.

"Unfortunately these disturbances are only strengthening German Nationalism," said His Majesty.

Hitler, looking over the ostensible quiet of Germany, points with satisfaction to the labor unrest around him and cries, "For this reason I have rid Germany of Communists." Otto, though loath to agree with any of *Der Führer's* dogmas, admits that "Austria must be kept free of a discontented proletariat and the radical element which makes it so." A chain is as strong as its weakest link.

For the time during my audience I wished the bars of diplomacy could be dropped. Otto was so anxious to send a message to the outside world. As "His Majesty" he dared not say more than "Yes, I am ready. I have faith enough in my people and in my God to know I will rule Austria." "When?" I asked His Majesty

Baron Mirbach's approach interrupted his answer.

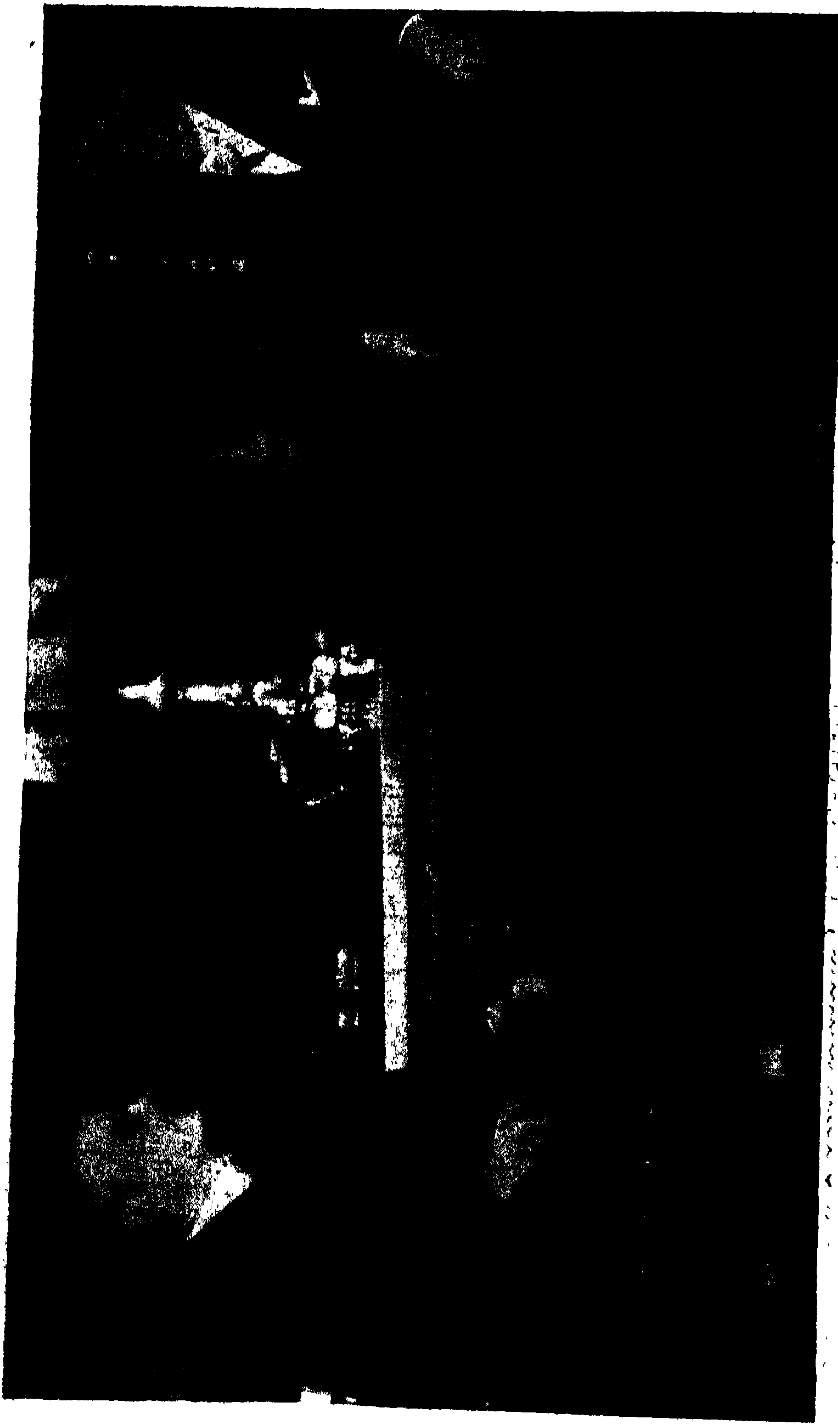
"May I say within a very few months, Your Majesty?"

The reply was muffled by the noise of an approaching motor. But it sounded very much like "October" to me. By then, the Olympic games will be over, tourist trade will be on the wane, and Austria will be ready for excitement.

Walking back through the grounds, Zita's luxurious car drove past me. I stopped for a moment to look after the mother of Austria's future ruler. Though she had sped by quickly, it was not fast enough to keep me from glimpsing a determined, intelligent face, whose eyes, like those of her son flashed a message.

ANOTHER ANGLE—As a result of Dr. Schacht's visit to Belgrade, a definite agreement was reached about Austria * * * The German Government * * * is actually encouraging the Restorationist efforts of the Hapsburgs * * * The next development * * * is a recrudescence of the earlier Nazi idea of arranging a "plebiscite" in Austria to decide the form of government. It is calculated that there might be * * * a very large pro-Hapsburg vote * * * It is presumed that the Hapsburgs would take the opportunity of such a vote to make a definite move, either in a "constitutional" form, or by a sort of *putsch* based on the "enthusiasm" engendered by the plebiscite. It would be at this point that the Yugoslavs would march in. * * * Then, with Austria in upheaval, and the Yugoslav troops in partial occupation, would come the opportunity for Nazis inside Austria—with the assistance of the Yugoslav military and of the Berlin Government—to bring off their *putsch*.

From *The Week*, London, June 24.



© International News

CONFERENCE: Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg and Mussolini, as they appeared during Rome talks in 1934.

will AUSTRIA *go* DEMOCRATIC?

Not a prediction, but an analysis of a little-reckoned possibility.

BY W. Walter Crotch

EVENTS have moved with startling, and sometimes dramatic, rapidity in Austria during the past few months. They are laden with many portents. The tendencies of governmental control are still bewilderingly contradictory; and as a result they have merged themselves once more in a compromise, a fragile one, whose equilibrium may be disturbed by the most trifling incident. At the same time, however, it is an unusual compromise, inasmuch as the worst dangers, at least, of an impotent dictatorship have been temporarily removed and the prospect of a partial restoration of free and liberal institutions can be dimly envisaged. In any case, the new policy of the Government is one which should be carefully scrutinized by every one who has a real concern for peace, since the effects of that policy must inevitably affect the international situation.

In order to completely grasp why it is that Austria remains the keystone to the arch of international concord, it is necessary to understand her present internal position. The general situation in the autumn of 1935 was as follows: A Government comprising three candidates for the not-very-enviable post of dictator — Schuschnigg, Starhemberg, and Fey; profound and practically universal dissatisfaction with that Government; loss of ground by the Nazis and gains by the Reds or Revolutionaries; and in foreign affairs, coolness in Austria's relations with the League of Nations, owing to the Viennese Cabinet's refusal to adhere to Geneva's sanctions against Italy.

Rather unexpectedly, a reconstruction of the Cabinet was effected. One of the aspiring dictators, Major Fey, was thrown out of the Government with scant courtesy, but as a solace he was given the lucrative post of president of the Danube Navigation Company. Other ministers, such as Hommerstein-Equord, known for their hostility to Germany, were removed almost simultaneously.

As time passed—this was prior to the date when the Italians in Abyssinia turned potential failure into positive success by the use of poison gas—the Austrian rulers began to develop doubts as to the efficacy of Italian assistance in the event of a German attack. The obvious course to pursue in such circumstances would have been to rally wholeheartedly to the League of Nations and to rely on the courage and strength of the Western Powers. But the obvious course seldom commends itself to the amiably tortuous Viennese mind. In this instance, Vienna had perhaps some justification for the hesitancy and vacillation which it displayed, for, truth to tell, British foreign policy just then appeared more in the nature of a quicksand than a solid rock on which to build. Moreover the Quai d'Orsay was presided over by M. Pierre Laval, whose strange and paradoxical Central European policy induced him to give unwavering support to France's enemy, Beck, and to attempt to torpedo

France's loyal friends, Benes and Titulescu. This amazing exhibition of diplomatic acrobatics was not calculated to inspire Vienna with any strong confidence. Be that as it may, however, when Schuschnigg was told by his military advisers that in case of a European conflagration breaking out while Italy was still engaged in Abyssinia, the Italian forces in the Brenner could not be expected to hold up the Germans for longer than a fortnight, he decided to try to link up Italy and Germany. This plan had been already more or less vaguely suggested, or hinted at, by the Hungarian Premier, Gömbös, and it enjoyed the cordial and persistent advocacy of Herr von Papen, Hitler's envoy in Vienna.

Bloc of Neutrals

Schuschnigg, Gömbös, and Mussolini met in Rome, and the so-called Rome pacts were concluded. These amounted to the formation of the nucleus of a Bloc of Neutrals, to which it was hoped that Poland would subsequently be added. It was a bloc which, in the event of war between Germany and France with her allies, would at first observe neutrality, and then, when military developments indicated the probable outcome of the struggle, would throw the weight of some 10,000,000 fresh bayonets into the scale on the winning side. A really favorite Italian device! And it was a policy which Germany viewed with evident favor. In the course of *pourparlers* which took place at the house of the Austrian consul general in Budapest, Herr von Papen is said to have hinted both to Gömbös and to the Austrian representative, Herr Neustädter-Sturmer, that Hitler would be willing to sign a twenty-five year self-denying ordinance so far as Austria was concerned, provided that Vienna and Budapest would undertake to act as a bridge between Berlin and Rome.

But the whole situation was suddenly and radically altered by two events: the triumph of Italian arms in East Africa and the Phœnix Insurance Company scandal in Austria. The first seemed likely to set Italy free in the near future to use her full weight in European affairs. The second dealt a rude blow at the already shaky fabric of the Schuschnigg-Starhemberg regime.

The Phœnix affair warrants closer examination. The Phœnix Insurance Company, since the violent crash of the *Kredit Anstalt,* was the only Austrian concern of real international note in the world of finance. Its extremely clever director, Dr. Berliner, had been forced into unorthodox methods by pressure from the Viennese Government, which on the one hand urged him to expand at all costs in order to bolster up Austrian prestige, and on the other hand, compelled him repeatedly to place the Phœnix reserves at the disposal of a depleted national treasury. Dr. Berliner had no illusions in regard to either the homogeneity or the permanency of the regime. He had to insure the Phœnix Insurance Company against the intrigues of the various factions inside the Government camp, and against the overthrow of the regime itself by its internal and external foes. Accordingly he established a list of "pensionaries" on which figured the Nazis, the Hapsburgs, and some of the Left organizations. On it figured also the *Heimwehr,* the Government's representatives on his Board of Directors, and a number of prominent persons in the Government camp and in the press of the regime. This sort of thing, of course, could not go on forever. You cannot keep a vessel filled when it has a dozen holes in it. Dr. Berliner died. It was then officially revealed (the fact had long been known unofficially) that the

reserves of the Phœnix had evaporated. This could not have happened in a democratic state where the press was at liberty to expose a scandal at the beginning. But even in a semi-fascist state, where there is no freedom of the press whatever, the scandal, having burst, could not be suppressed entirely. A commission of inquiry was appointed. It prepared a report which comprised 48 pages of names — prominent persons who had received either bribes or bounties from the Phœnix, ranging from a "pension" of £12 per month to a lump payment of £80,000, this last having been made to the *Heimwehr*. With a flourish of trumpets and a great beating of drums, the Government announced that it would reveal the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and forthwith published—two out of the forty-eight pages of names! Even these two pages, however, although they did not contain the names of the most prominent of the benefactors under the Phœnix system of *largesse*, were sufficient to compromise the regime. Moreover, the publication led to a violent fight inside the Cabinet, between those who wanted to publish nothing and those who wanted to publish everything. A definite split appeared: on the one hand, the militant *Heimwehr* section, with Starhemberg, Foreign Minister Berger-Waldenegg, and Finance Minister Draxler; on the other, the more democratic group with Dobrettsberger, Social Welfare Minister, his Secretary of State Znidaric, and Minister of Agriculture Strobl. Each group demanded the resignation of the other. It was almost Gilbertian, save for its gravity. Chancellor Schuschnigg — whom, by the way, even his fiercest political opponents acquit of any participation in the Phœnix "deal"—was in a quandary, made all the more painful by agitation which was beginning to spread among the masses of the people. The Nazis were not slow in pointing out that the late Dr. Berliner was a Jew. From that fact they deduced, to the greater glory of Hitlerism, that all Jews are rogues and robbers. The Reds retorted that a scandal of such magnitude, stretching out its antennæ into the highest circles, was the inevitable consequence of an undemocratic authoritarian system of government. The 300,000 Austrian citizens who held Phœnix insurance policies trembled, anxious for their money and at the same time, indignant. The 4,000-odd insurance agents and employees filled the air with embittered bewailings because the Government ordered a deduction in their salaries of from 15% to 18% in order to help fill the empty Phœnix treasury. The situation was rendered still more dangerous by conditions in the semi-military organizations. For some time past, Schuschnigg had realized the peril threatening the State from Prince Starhemberg's private army, the *Heimwehr*. He had cast about for methods by which to draw its teeth and had hit upon the expedient of fusing all these Austrian private armies into one military body, to be called the National Volunteer Militia. The idea was sound enough, but its execution was deplorable. It was not clearly stated that the new Militia was to be under the control of the Army. On the contrary, since the very basis of the Army was to be altered—a mercenary time-serving cadre force to be transformed into a compulsory one—people imagined that the militia was to pursue an independent existence, and acted accordingly. The fight for control of the Militia began. Schuschnigg then made a gigantic mistake. Thinking that the *Heimwehr* would follow a bright example given by the rival organizations, he disarmed and practically disbanded his own private force, the clerical *Ostmärkische Sturmscharen*, the Catholic working-men's *Freiheits-*

bund, and the smaller organizations. These were reduced to the status of civil associations and their militant members were drafted into the Militia. But the *Heimwehr* took precious care that, while going into the Militia it, and no one else, should control the organization and should retain custody of its rifles, machine-guns, armored cars and ammunition.

No sooner had Schuschnigg perpetrated this blunder than he began to deplore it and to seek means of repairing the damage. May Day seemed to provide him with the opportunity. For years past the Catholic trade unionists, on or about May 1, had held a parade in honor of the papal encyclical known as *quadrogesimo anno*, a sort of Roman Catholic chart of working-class rights. Schuschnigg decided that the *Freiheitsbund* should hold this parade in full uniform partially under arms, on the Heldenplatz, the historic square in front of the old imperial palace. Further, he decided that he himself would take an active part in the proceedings. Starhemberg protested with extreme vigor, but only succeeded in obtaining a week's postponement. Thus on the following Sunday the *Freiheitsbund* held its celebration and marched in military formation past the Chancellor and the left-wing ministers along Vienna's famous main thoroughfare, the Ring. It had to run the gauntlet of the *Heimwehr* people vociferously assisted by Nazi enthusiasts. Insults of all kinds were hurled at the Chancellor's head. On a balcony overlooking the scene, Major Fey appeared as a kind of of *redivivus* would-be dictator and for two hours basked in the clamorous adulation of a mob frantically shouting: "Long Live Fascism!" The whole affair was said to have been organized by Prince Starhemberg's two personal A D.C's. Both on the Ring, and in the course of severe scuffles between the *Heimwehr* and the *Freiheitsbund* in various parts of the city, the police were bound to interfere. Some seventy arrests of *Heimwehr* fascists, including officers in uniform, were made, but Vice Chancellor Starhemberg hastened to the police stations and ordered all the delinquents immediately liberated. The climax was reached when Fey was borne shoulder high by his supporters down the Ring. The day was laden with the virus of civil war. It was all too evident that the Government Bloc was already torn in twain and that no further attempt could be made to maintain the official pretense of the unity of the "Patriotic Front."

It is very possible that had Starhemberg given his *Heimwehr* marching orders that Sunday night, the fascist cause might have triumphed. But Starhemberg, like the swashbuckling General Boulanger, had other private fish to fry. Thus he failed his men in the crucial hour; he allowed his opportunity to slip. To make this good he decided upon a spectacular *coup* and a dramatic gesture: he announced to an astonished world that he was on the point of leaving for Rome "to consult Mussolini," the Master Fascist of them all. And, in order to predispose Il Duce in his favor, he sent him a flamboyant telegram in which he mentioned Fascism in lyrical terms seven times in the course of ten lines! Next, the British, French, Czechoslovakian, and Yugoslavian ministers appeared at the Foreign Office to demand the meaning of this untoward Fascist-Italian demonstration on the part of the second-in-command in the Austrian Cabinet. This forced Schuschnigg's hand, and he called together an "inner council" of ministers and demanded Starhemberg's resignation. The Prince stormed during the whole of the four and a half hours of discussion. He began by declaring that he would resist—he had the *Heimwehr* at his back. To which Schuschnigg

dryly retorted that the Federal Army was more than a match for the *Heimwehr*. In the end, Starhemberg cooled down and consented to go and to take his *Heimwehr* colleague, Minister for Foreign Affairs Berger - Waldenegg, with him—but on two conditions: (1) that the new Vice-Chancellor should be a man of the *Heimwehr* and (2) that the three left-wing ministers should also resign. Rightly or wrongly, Schuschnigg, to avoid possible civil war, agreed.

Starhemberg left for Rome, there to receive a vigorous curtain-lecture from Mussolini on his tactlessness in exploding this Austrian bomb at a moment when Italy's own international situation was none too secure. He exchanged telegrams with the *Heimwehr* in which he demanded (and later received) pledges of implicit obedience to his personal commands. Meantime Schuschnigg was (and is) by no means out of the woods. The *Heimwehr* is still in the Militia and still controls the Militia. The near future will show whether it can be disarmed tactfully and peacefully. Meanwhile the whole affair has had a profound effect on the distribution of contending political forces in Austria. On the one hand, it has drawn two erstwhile enemies, the Nazis and the *Heimwehr*, closer together under a common fascist parole. On the other hand, it bids fair to drive Schuschnigg's party, if not Schuschnigg himself, into the necessity of forming an anti-Fascist bloc—a sort of *Front Populaire*—with the Social Democrats.

The first of these processes was clearly revealed by a conference of German and Austrian Nazi leaders held at the Salzburg villa of former Minister Hueber, who happens to be Goering's brother-in-law. The Austrian Nazis were instructed at that conference to abstain from all independent revolutionary action; to try to influence events in the direction of a fascist pro-German Government under Major Fey, but, should that move prove impossible, to rally to the support of a fascist *Heimwehr* cabinet under Starhemberg.

This concentration of Fascist forces is willy-nilly driving the Christian Social followers of Schuschnigg into *pourparlers* with the Social Democrats. The Church favors these efforts, at least for the moment, since it feels itself threatened by the anti-clericalism of the *Heimwehr* and the Nazis. The Christian workmen would ask no better than to heal the differences which, since February 1934, have separated them from their Marxist fellow-workmen.

The first attempts at conferences failed. A Viennese Christian Social lawyer, Dr. Zörnleib, was the first to be sent with the white flag of truce into the illegal Marxist camp. But ex-Chancellor Renner, prominent among the moderate, or right-wing, Social Democrats, broke off the conversations because he did not think Dr. Zörnleib carried enough weight. Then Schuschnigg's military A.D.C. lieutenant, Colonel Kern, sent for Major Eifler, former Chief of Staff of the Socialist Republican *Schutzbund*, which carried out the Red *putsch* in February 1934, and sounded him on the possibility of an agreement. Major Eifler, who was but recently released from jail, was very reserved. He declared that he could speak for no one but himself, but that his personal view was that, whereas the Republicans could take no sides in a conflict between two rival sections of their foes, the situation would be changed were the Ministry to restore full democratic rights and return to orderly parliamentary government. And there the matter stands at the moment these lines are written.

It cannot remain there long. Whether or not Schuschnigg succeeds in settling the *Heimwehr* problem with-

out bloodshed, it is now clear that he cannot rule indefinitely without popular support. He has lost the allegiance of the *Heimwehr*. He must replace it with aid from the Left, or drift towards a catastrophe. Thus, while there is nothing very tangible to grasp, it is an undoubted fact that in Austria at the moment the idea of a return to democratic government and free institutions is in the air. Perchance the time has not yet ripened, but it is surely in the process of ripening. From information which I have derived from both camps it would appear that a possible basis of compromise may be found, generally in restoration or establishment of the following:

(1) Full trade-union liberties.
(2) Freedom of the press.
(3) Liberty of political organization for parties prepared to recognize the principle of Austrian sovereignty.
(4) Replacement of the present hybrid cabinet by one under a prominent "left-minded" Christian Social, possibly with the inclusion of some moderate Social Democrats.
(5) As soon as convenient thereafter, election of a constituent assembly to revise the constitution.

It is evident that, should events shape this way, the consequences for Austria's international situation would be drastic. Dreams of playing the part of a bridge between Germany and Italy would be abandoned. The present policy of servile obedience to the Palazzo Chigi would be modified. Political support and cooperation would be sought primarily in London and Paris. Economic agreement would be attempted with Prague and the Little Entente. Austria would definitely and frankly enter the European Peace Front.

◆ ◆ ◆

These are pleasant prospects indeed, but as yet they are merely of "such stuff as dreams are made of." Between these alluring visions and their realization stand many obstacles; the unsated ambition of Herr Hitler for one; the mercurial temperament of Prince Starhemberg and the interests of his backers in the armaments industry, for another; and last, but not least, that strangely twisting and wonderfully inefficient Austrian mentality which loves to envelop every clear and direct issue in artificial fog, and which has ever refused to realize that the shortest distance between two points is, and will always be, a straight line.

BATTLESHIP'S DOOM

Airplanes—guns in the sky! One reason why Britain, monarch of the seas, slowed up against Italian aggression; why Japan, another naval power, treads warily with the Soviet.

By The Right Honorable Lord Strabolgi

IN the Middle Ages when gunpowder, invented centuries before in China, was adopted for use in war, the armored knights were doomed. The mounted warriors, with their suits of plate armor for themselves and their horses, were highly specialized and expensive. The musketeers were cheap, numerous, and easily trained. Medieval chivalry struggled to survive by increasing the thickness of its armor until the knights became so heavy and unwieldy that, if unhorsed, they were either stunned by the fall, or incapable of rising without assistance. The downfall of the Knightly Orders meant the end of the feudal system, immense social changes in Europe, and the uprising of nationalism as we understand it today.

We are witnessing in these times a similar revolution brought about by the invention of the airplane. Sea power has had a great influence on the history of empires. The state which was able to use the seas built up its wealth, territory, and power. Greece, Carthage, Rome, Venice, Genoa, Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and Britain are leading examples. The United States of America became a sea power soon after they established sovereign nationality. Prior to the solution of the problems of flight, the oceans were dominated by the nations possessing strong naval forces. From the days of the Roman and Carthagenian galley fleets right up to the battle of Jutland in the Great War, large and powerful surface warships were the ultimate masters of the situation. The galley gave way to the sailing man-of-war with her stout oak hull and batteries of cannon; and the three-decker, in turn, to the armored battleship. As the artillery increased in power and range, the warships were increased in size so as to carry the necessary armor protection against the missiles of the artillery. Only wealthy nations can maintain fleets of large warships.

The inventors of the torpedo thought that they had discovered a weapon which would democratize sea warfare. They believed that this under-water method of attack had made the great warship obsolete. The French school, which embraced the doctrine of the *guerre de course*, prevailed for a period to the extent that the French Government believed it could wrest sea power from Britain, their traditional marine enemy, by amplifying the number of torpedo-boats. But antidotes to the torpedo-boats were introduced—the larger, faster, more powerful torpedo-boat destroyers. And naval architects re-

sponded to the challenge of the under-water torpedo attack by again increasing the size of warships so as to be able to provide them with protective outer hulls under water and internal armor below the surface of the sea.

The torpedo was adopted on a large scale in the eighties of the last century. It was never *used* on a large scale. In the last decisive battle fought between battleships, the action at Tsushima*, the torpedo played no part at all. The issue was decided by the gun, and its antidote — armor-plating. Nevertheless, the torpedo had an influence on later naval tactics, especially after the invention of the submarine. In the great naval campaigns of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the superior fleet of large warships sought action off the enemy coast. In the World War the admirals on both sides endeavored to keep large warships away from areas where the torpedo craft, surface and submerged, could operate. For by this time the submarine boat had been improved, and though slow and blind, it nevertheless constituted a threat by torpedo action. The endeavor of both High Commands in that war was to keep the great line of battleships in reserve and intact as a threat.

The indecisive battle of Jutland was a strategical accident. Neither side knew that the battle fleet of its opponent was at sea. The British thought they were fighting a cruiser action with their own battleships in hidden reserve; and the Germans were under the same delusion. The meeting of the battle fleets was therefore accidental. When they did meet, the desire of the British, in spite of their great superiority, to preserve their large warships, led to the action being fought at long range with indecisive results. The strategy of the British High Command was broadly correct in that so long as a superior fleet of battleships remained in being, the long-range blockade of Germany could be made effective. If no new factor had been introduced into naval warfare, battleships would have survived despite the arguments and doubts still expressed, based on the torpedo menace.

Now, however, an entirely new set of conditions exists. The airplanes, because of their cheapness, mobility, and, therefore, their numbers, present an extremely serious problem for the naval architects. The modern super-dreadnought type of battleship now being built for the American, British, and Japanese Navies, can be made very strong, but she is extremely costly. Not only must she be designed to carry powerful long-range artillery for fighting other battleships and heavy armor to protect her from the shell fire of her opponents of the same class, but she must also carry special protection against air attack and a special battery of anti-aircraft artillery. This necessitates a vessel of 30,000 to 40,000 tons, costing between $27,500,000 and $30,000,000. The Japanese naval staff is talking of a battleship of 50,000 tons to cost $45,000,000. Naval armaments depend on finance; thus it is obvious that only a limited number of these mastodons can be constructed and maintained. Their cost of upkeep is heavy; they need large, expensive docks for repair purposes, and in addition they must be protected by minesweepers, numerous destroyers to keep off hostile submarines and torpedo-boats, look-out cruisers, and by aircraft in floating carriers.

For the same monetary expenditure a very large force of airplanes to fly from the land can be built and main-

(*) Battle of Tsushima, so called from the Japanese island Tsushima, off which during the Russo-Japanese war a great naval engagement was fought on May 27 and 28, 1905, in which the Japanese under Togo outmaneuvered and decisively defeated an equal number of Russian capital ships (12) under Rohzdestvensky.

tained. Thus the torpedo-carrying airplane, capable of flying at 250 miles an hour, can be produced in large numbers for $25,000 apiece. It would have a crew of one or two men. A fast bombing machine can be built for $40,000, and a very long-range and powerful flying-boat for between $100,000 and $150,000. True, the airplane lasts only four or five years, and the life of a battleship is from twenty to twenty-five years. Nevertheless, it is obvious that for an equal expenditure a swarm of airplanes can be constructed which could obliterate a squadron of battleships and their attendant craft, if the latter approached within flying range of the land-based aircraft. This means that in any future European warfare, the Baltic, North Sea, Mediterranean, and a large area of the Western Atlantic will be unhealthy for warships. In harbor or dock within flying distance of hostile aircraft, the large warships will be particularly vulnerable.

Problem in the Pacific

The American naval problem centers on the Pacific. There the distances are greater. The present argument of the American Navy chiefs is that they need large warships which can make the passage from California to the Philippines and back, fighting actions on the way and able to carry on without having to go into dock. They claim that only the very large battleship can do this. In the present state of æronautical development, large areas of the Pacific can be used for naval operations without the air arm dominating. But what will be the position in ten years' time, when, with the continuing speed of æronautical development, another stage of progress has been reached?

The past history of naval warfare has left a deep mark on the popular mind, as well as on the minds of the professional naval experts themselves. The professional mind accepts change slowly. When the gun was the only weapon in use at sea, the large battleship, with her stoutly protected hull, whether it was made of thick oak or covered with iron and, later, with hardened steel plates, and carrying the heaviest artillery in use, was immune from attack except from her own kind. In the days of the sailing navies it was not considered etiquette for a ship of the line (the battleship of her day) even to fire her broadside at the frigate (cruiser). The frigate kept out of the way of the three-decker. The battleships sought each other out, therefore, if they were fairly evenly matched, for the purpose of joining in battle under what each commander considered favorable circumstances. A weaker fleet attempted to avoid action, but where they were evenly matched, a battle sooner or later was inevitable.

Hence the great decisive naval actions of the past; and among these can be included the battle of Tsushima. The Russian Admiral knew he would have to fight to get to Vladivostok, and the Japanese knew they would have to fight to prevent him. These gladiatorial combats are not likely to happen again, even if battleships continue to exist in the leading navies.

Gun Range

The old-fashioned, muzzle-loading shore artillery, in use up to 1830, had an effective range of three miles; hence the accepted limitation of territorial waters. It was an axiom in the days of smooth-bore cannons and sailing ships that, unless in overwhelming force, the warships should keep out of the range of the shore artillery. As the guns improved in range and power,

so the warships became more reluctant to engage shore batteries. In the Russo-Japanese war, Admiral Togo's ships kept well out of reach of the land forts at Port Arthur. In the war of 1914-1918 even the most powerful of the British monitors, specially constructed for in-shore coastal work, kept out of the range of the heavy guns mounted by the Germans on the Flanders coast. This was perfectly sound doctrine, because the ship is more vulnerable to shell fire than the masked and entrenched battery on shore.

The bomb-carrying airplane for purposes of war is a gun with a range of some hundreds of miles. The numbers of shore-based airplanes have increased enormously. Every Great Power is increasing its air fleet, and the airplanes will be numbered in thousands when the present programs are completed. It is known, for example, that the Russians are working up to a program of 15,000 airplanes, and they already possess some 5,000 machines. The Japanese Navy is supreme in the Eastern Pacific, but the Japanese Government is careful not to proceed to extremes with the Soviet Government because Russian airplanes can fly from the Maritime Province of Siberia, bomb the Japanese cities, and return. If the warships, however large and powerful, cannot with prudence operate within flying range of the enemy coast, their sphere of action is greatly curtailed.

Air power was rudimentary in the World War. Britain and her Allies were immensely superior at sea to Germany, especially after the intervention of the United States of America. Yet much loss and inconvenience were caused by German air attacks on Britain. In the next European conflict, however numerous and powerful the sea surface navies, the flying navies probably will decide the issue.

Immediate past history confirms the belief that the air arm has brought about a revolution in warfare as far-reaching as gunpowder. In the past it has been the great, wealthy nations with overseas trade and, therefore, with a large and prosperous mercantile marine, which alone could possess powerful navies. And today the only naval powers which matter are the United States of America, Britain, Japan, France, and presently, Germany. To maintain a large fleet needs not only money, but great engineering resources and a maritime population. But a comparatively poor nation can build up an air fleet. Airplanes can be constructed quickly and their pilots trained with equal rapidity.

A battleship navy is the result of slow growth and heavy expenditure. Therefore the "aristocratic" navies, the possessions of the great and powerful, are threatened by the "democratic" air forces, the possessions of the comparatively weak and poor. The most recent example has been in the Mediterranean and has arisen from the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. Britain endeavored to prevent this aggression, using the ready-made machinery of the League of Nations for the purpose. The Italians immediately denounced Britain as the enemy. A violent campaign of anti-British propaganda began, and in answer, Britain concentrated the flower of her Navy in the Mediterranean. Fifteen great capital ships with their attendant cruisers, destroyers, and minesweepers were available. The battleships were comparatively modern, and two of them were the most powerful in the world. The Italian fleet was not in the same class. Four old and comparatively small and weak prewar battleships were all that Italy possessed, and two of them had been out of commission for some years. No serious challenge to the British fleet could have been made by the Italian

naval forces. We can discount the sensational stories of Italian speedboats armed with torpedoes. There is an effective naval antidote to these, and also to the submarines. But the great British naval base and arsenal at Malta is only sixty miles away from the Italian ærodromes at Sicily. The main British Fleet was accordingly moved to Alexandria. Malta was prepared for a siege; but for naval purposes, it was practically evacuated. Even at Alexandria the threat of Italian airplanes flying from Libya, three hundred miles distant, was felt. At the beginning of the tension period, the British Air Force in Egypt and the anti-aircraft batteries of artillery available were comparatively weak. The capitals of Europe resounded with all sorts of rumors of perils from the air.

British naval strategy was affected by the Italian air threat. This has had an adverse effect on the whole of British high policy. The other Mediterranean Powers—France, Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Turkey, all members of the League—were sounded on the help they were prepared to give Britain against Italy with her third-rate Navy. From the pre-air age standpoint, Italy was in a vulnerable position, with a great Army dependent on the Suez Canal for its communications. If the problem had been only naval, the Suez Canal could have been denied to Italy in a night. The Italian Air Force is not stronger than the whole British Air Force, but it is better placed and concentrated for Mediterranean operations. There was fear of what the Italian Air Force might do. It was even rumored that the long-range Italian air bombers could fly from Turin to London and attack that great metropolis. It was well understood that reprisals could be undertaken against the exposed cities of Italy; but it was the air threat to Britain's battleships—her pride and her strength—which decided the British Cabinet to avoid pushing sanctions to extremes.

Not until France had made her choice and decided to join the English in case Italy hit back at the sanctionist powers, particularly Britain, did the British Cabinet and the British Naval Staff feel comfortable again. Now if that could happen in the fall of 1935 because of the threat of a comparatively weak Italian Air Force, the most important part of which was involved in Abyssinia, what will be the position in the fall of 1938 in the Mediterranean when, instead of a total strength of 1,600 machines, the Italian Air Force numbers some 4,000, as is foreshadowed? And if the large, costly British warships can no longer dominate the Mediterranean because of the air threat now, what is their survival value?

The Admiralties and Navy Offices of the principal Powers are conservative. They cling to the symbols of past naval power. Thus we see the Americans, British, French, Japanese, and Germans still building the old type great warships. Even the Russians are considering the rebuilding of their sea-surface navy, including the construction of these large capital ships. So, in the period of the twilight of European chivalry, did the feudal lords maintain their armored knights, long after the musketeers dominated the battlefields. The King's Horse Guards in London still ride on ceremonial occasions wearing steel breastplates and brass helmets.

For Pacific operations the battleship may have a function for some years to come; but for the narrow European waters her days of dominance are over. Her future depends on finance.

As soon as the governments concerned realize that they can get better value in aircraft for an equal expenditure of money, the last keel of the great naval warship type will have been laid.



LOOK WHO'S HERE!

—George Matthew Adams Service

MAJOR PARTY PLATFORMS OF 1936

Our quadrennial debate as viewed by WALLACE S. SAYRE

THE party platform, it has been said, is something on which one gets into office. It can also be described as a document in which are merged the subtle skills of two practitioners in mass emotions: the lawyer and the writer of modern advertising. To the party platform, modern advertising lends its techniques of using symbols and phrases which evoke the desired response. Hence the generous sprinkling throughout every party platform of those familiar words and phrases—"liberty", "freedom", "American system", "constitutional", "sound money", "balanced budget", "privilege," "monopoly"—all meaningless, except when precisely described, yet heavily freighted with vague emotions.

But party warfare cannot be wholly confined to the polite usages of the advertising craft. So there is fused with the advertisement of the party's virtues the lawyer's plea to the jury and the carefully guarded terms of the legal contract. The opponent is charged with crimes, real and imaginary, relevant and irrelevant, and the party of the first part is wreathed in a halo of white light. However, there must be the implication of contractual obligations in the document. Promises are made, but each one is so carefully hedged with a condition or qualification, or the proposition is so generally stated, that the platforms resemble nothing so much as a landlord-and-tenant contract.

In a sense, party platforms are quadrennial revisions of political myths. All that is evil, whether of ancient or recent origin, is attributed to the opposition; all that is good is unblushingly claimed as the fruit of *our* policies and the work of *our* leaders. Yet, despite all this, there is distinguishable to the realistic and the informed observer, a difference in approach, in emphasis, in overtone and undertone, between the platforms of the major parties. This difference, though always a subtle one, is more easily discovered in a period of party realignment. We are now in the midst of such a period. Consequently, the platforms of 1936 reveal more clearly than platforms have for many years, those differences in emphasis and approach which distinguish our parties.

PROLOGUE

Each of the platforms has a prologue devoted to indictment of the opposition and to self-praise. "America is in peril," declare the Republicans. "For

three long years," they continue, the Constitution and American traditions have been dishonored and ignored, a dictatorial bureaucracy has been established, there has been "frightful waste and extravagance", and "appeals to passion and class prejudice have replaced reason and tolerance."

"We pledge ourselves to maintain the American system of constitutional and local self-government, and to resist all attempts to impair the authority of the Supreme Court * * * (and) to preserve the American system of free enterprise, private competition, and equality of opportunity . . ." they go on.

To this the Democrats retort: "Twelve years of Republican leadership left our nation sorely stricken in body, mind and spirit; and * * * three years of Democratic leadership have put it back on the road to restored health and prosperity."

". . . . Republican surrender to the dictatorship of the privileged few" has been supplanted by "Democratic leadership which has returned the people themselves to the places of authority . . . " To the Republican charges of dictatorship and waste, Democrats answer: "* * * government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens. . . . "

The differences expressed here, apart from the exchange of pleasantries, are subtle. To the Republicans, government has a limited rôle; to the Democrats, it has an expanding rôle. Neither party is prepared to define its approach concretely.

REGULATION OF BUSINESS

Each party approaches this knotty problem warily. "We recognize," say the Republicans, "the existence of a field within which governmental regulation is desirable and salutary." But, they hastily continue, this regulation should be by "an independent tribunal acting under clear and specific laws establishing definite standards," and the acts of these tribunals should be subject to review, on both law and facts, by the courts. These are serious limitations on the regulatory power. They emphasize the reluctance of Republicans to extend the field of regulation and their lack of enthusiasm for adequately empowered regulatory agencies.

The Democratic platform endorses the solution of "national problems" by "both State and Federal treatment."

"We know," they declare, "that drought, dust storms, floods, minimum wages, maximum hours, child labor and working conditions, monopolistic and unfair business practices, cannot be handled by forty-eight separate State legislatures . . . ;" and "if these problems cannot be effectively solved by legislation within the Constitution, we shall seek such clarifying amendment as will assure to the legislatures of the several States and the Congress of the United States, each within its proper jurisdiction, the power to enact those laws. . . . "

There is a clear difference of emphasis here. While the Republicans would limit and restrain regulation, the Democrats would increase the power and competency of the agencies of regulation, if need be by a Constitutional amendment. The issue of the relationship between the States and the Nation is carefully side-stepped, however, by the use of the phrase "each within its proper jurisdiction."

Both parties are anti-monopolist in sentiment, each pledging vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws and each charging the other with responsibility for the existence of monopolies. Neither party, however, is specific as to how great industrial combinations are to be dismantled.

There is a vague difference on the tariff, the Republicans declaring for "sufficient protection" and the Democrats, for "adequate protection." The Democrats praise their reciprocal trade agreements, which the Republicans condemn, though promising to "adjust tariffs."

Both parties approve the regulation of securities and of public utilities.

AGRICULTURE

The platforms reveal but little conflict on the agricultural problem. The Republicans somewhat plaintively accuse the Democrats of plagiarism in adopting "the Republican policy of soil conservation and land retirement." The "New Deal Administration," they charge, "misuses the program to serve partisan ends." As if disturbed by this absence of a real agricultural issue, the Republicans then propose thirteen separate aids to agriculture, most of them being a recapitulation of the routine functions of the Department of Agriculture. The Democratic platform reaffirms present administration policy in soil conservation and land retirement, and adds farm tenancy as a new problem to be attacked.

It is evident that the Republicans dare not disapprove the benefit payments to farmers. The prospect of losing the West by such a position is too real. Nevertheless, in the phrase "as an emergency measure", there is an implication that the Republicans would prefer an early termination of the benefits.

LABOR

The slow rise of labor to a position of power in the American party system is reflected in the platforms. The Republicans pledge to "protect the rights of labor to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing without interference from any source"; "prevent governmental job holders from exercising autocratic powers over labor"; "support the adoption of State laws and interstate compacts to abolish sweatshops and child labor, and to protect women and children with respect to maximum hours, minimum wages, and working conditions."

Each of these statements is vague and equivocal. "Without interference from anyone" seems to deny governmental aid to labor in company union disputes. It is difficult to guess what autocratic powers "governmental job holders" have over labor. And Governor Landon found it advisable to clarify the proposal to protect women and children by declaring he would favor a Constitutional amendment permitting States to adopt such laws.

The Democratic platform makes more specific promises to labor. It points to the "right to collective bargaining and self-organization free from the interference of employers" and declares that national power is essential to the protection of the wages and conditions of labor. There is but little doubt that labor will find these declarations more satisfying than the Republican hedging.

RELIEF

There is a clearly discernible difference in approach, if not in specific statement, between the two parties on the question of relief and unemployment. "The necessities of life must be provided for the needy," say the Republicans. But relief administration must be returned to the States, Federal grants must be proportionate to State and local expenditures, and relief administrators must be chosen by merit.

"Unemployment is a national problem," reply the Democrats, and "it is

an inescapable obligation of our Government to meet it in a national way." They continue: "Where business fails to supply such employment, we believe that work at prevailing wages should be provided. . . ." The basic difference is not too deeply buried behind these sentences: the Republicans prefer the "dole" to work relief, the payment of major relief costs by States rather than by the Federal Government. The real issue here is: who shall pay the bill—those who pay federal income taxes, or those who pay State taxes? The Democrats favor payment from the ability-to-pay revenues of the Federal treasury.

Both parties naturally favor reemployment by private industry. The Republicans would promote reemployment by the "elimination of unnecessary and hampering regulations." The Democrats refuse to admit their regulations are either hampering or unnecessary.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Both parties endorse social security legislation. The Democrats approve the present statute with the promise that benefits shall keep step with higher standards of living. The Republican platform proposes several important modifications in the present system.

"We approve a pay-as-you-go policy," the Republicans announce, the Federal revenues to be "provided from the proceeds of a direct tax widely distributed." This hints at the sales tax. When coupled with other Republican criticisms of the Democratic security legislation, these proposals indicate that the real issue again is: who shall pay?

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

Republicans charge that there has been "shameful waste and general financial irresponsibility." They would "stop the folly of uncontrolled spending", "balance the budget * * * by cutting expenditures, drastically and immediately", "revise the Federal tax system * * * using the taxing power for raising revenue and not for punitive or political purposes." Democrats deny the charge of waste, point to restored values, and declare "we are determined to reduce the expenses of government", "achieve a balanced budget", and obtain revenue from "taxes levied in accordance with ability to pay." Thus each party promises reductions in expenditures (though neither says where), each party would balance the budget (though neither says when or how), and one would "revise" the tax system, while the other would emphasize ability-to-pay taxes.

Each party is for a sound currency. The Republicans would not further devalue the dollar, and Governor Landon's footnote would make it "convertible into gold" at a distant date. The Democrats favor "a permanently sound currency so stabilized as to prevent the former wide fluctuations in value. . . ." The difference is not clear.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Both parties are isolationist. The Republicans achieve a greater degree of isolation by expressly repudiating the League of Nations, but relent to the extent of favoring tribunals of arbitration. The Democrats propose "the policy of the good neighbor," but fail to specify their attitude toward international agencies.

MERIT SYSTEM

The two parties make almost identical statements on the maintenance of the merit system in civil service.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Each party pays allegiance to the Bill of Rights and declares for the preservation of the liberties of the people.

CONCLUSION

The voter must look beyond the platforms to the history, composition, and leadership of each party if he would know more specifically what are the issues of 1936. From the platforms he will be able to conclude only that in emphasis and overtone, the Democratic platform reveals a pro-labor and pro-agriculture sentiment, and that the Republican platform restrains such sentiments to reveal a pro-industrial one.



THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

—*Detroit News*



PERILOUS PERCH

—Baltimore Sun

THE *LATEST* FRENCH REVOLUTION*

BY FRANK C. HANIGHEN

****The situation, what produced it, and why you shouldn't wager on the outcome.***

THE sounds which come from France today possess the ominous ring of that tumbril which carried Marie Antoinette, and with her, the old order, to execution. A Socialist Premier, his party the largest in the Chamber, shrilly inveighs against capitalism. His ally, the Communist Party, its vote doubled in the last election, confidently tries to pull him farther to the Left. The old Radical Party, once the bugaboo of the Right, exists mainly as a conservative ballast to this rocky ship of state. And strikes, adding to the confusion, break out everywhere in industrial France, carrying with them more than a million workers. The strikers, in a manner disquietingly like that of Petrograd, 1917, or Italy just before Mussolini's advent, occupy factories, raise red flags and hold their managers prisoner. Has another French revolution started? Is France going through a Bolshevist '93?

French conservatives believe so, in spite of all evidence to the contrary. No matter that Premier Blum issues reassuring statements to the financiers and promises to work within the framework of capitalism; nor that the strikers, their wage demands met, return to their lathes. The Right still sees those red flags over the factories as a portent of revolution. The cause of it all, they say, is the *Front Populaire*. Unquestionably, this union of the parties of the Left which won the recent elections dominates the political scene and must therefore take responsibility for the situation. Undeniably, too, some of its leaders are Communists and have demanded the overthrow of the present economic and political system. But only a scrutiny of all the elements that compose this extraordinary alliance and a recital of the romantic saga of its rise to power can provide an answer to whether France is actually in the throes of revolution.

The *Front Populaire* movement was born on that memorable February 6, 1934, when mobs tried to storm the Chamber of Deputies. The Left parties saw in this riot an attack on democracy. They knew that organizations among the rioters were subsidized by reactionary elements; they took notice of a press campaign apparently fed by large sums of money to discredit parliamentary government. With the dramatic imagination of the French, they interpreted the situation in terms of what had happened in Germany. Had not the steel king, Thyssen, supported the Nazis? The *Comité des Forges* (steel trust), they believed, was now following his example. As for a Hitler, they had not far to look. He was already present in the person of Colonel de la Rocque, head of the fascist organization, the *Croix de Feu.*

Responding to this impulse, all the parties of the Left—some eagerly, others reluctantly—stopped their internecine spatting and came together in the alliance of the *Front Populaire*—not a revolutionary, but an anti-revolutionary, alliance to preserve the democratic *status quo.* They agreed to support each other in the elections:

whichever candidate of the *Front* ran highest in the primary would be supported by the other parties in the run-off. This was no mean achievement, considering the deep-seated factionalism of French parties.

Union of Parties

A superficial survey of the various groups which thus put union above party principles provides, perhaps, the strangest picture of enemies forgetting old scores ever witnessed in a democratic country.

First of all, there were the Communists, a spectacular phenomenon in this citadel of private property. Previously, their small representation in the Chamber had devoted much of its time to interrupting debates with shrieks of "Soviets Everywhere", just to render parliamentary government difficult. Now, after gentle reminders from Moscow, it saw that Fascism was a danger greater than democracy. After all, there are no concentration camps in the Third Republic.

This same specter scared the Socialists, too. Besides, the Socialists, while demanding an end to capitalism, believe in orderly progress and observance of democratic processes. It is well to realize, also, that the French Socialists are by no means all fanatical proletarians. There are many Catholics in their ranks, particularly in their stronghold, the textile center of Lille. They even draw a large farm vote; Blum represents the agricultural constituency of Narbonne.

André Siegfried once asked a farmer why he voted for a party which proposed abolition of private property. The reply was: "Oh, that won't happen tomorrow . . . I'm a Socialist, of course, but my true party is republican . . . but one must move with the times." In this utterance lies the secret, not only of the Socialists', but also the Radical-Socialists', success with France's great population of small property owners.

The Radical-Socialist Party, which has dominated the French scene so often in the past half century, may best be described as the "little man's party." Its leaders no longer cringe under the jibe that it is neither radical nor socialist. For they feel that they have "moved with the times" even if their stated aims are more radical than their accomplishments. Strictly speaking, this party is the counterpart of our Progressive group in the United States, and among its leaders, Herriot appears on close inspection no more radical than Borah, and Daladier no more socialistic than La Follette. The Radicals draw their support mainly from small farmers, tradesmen, little employers, and petty investors. Statistics indicate the strength of this class in France. Of 8,391,000 persons engaged in agriculture, five millions own their own land. Of the industrial population, 11% are employers (in Britain, only 3%). Finally it is estimated that every fifth person holds French Government securities. France is, *par excellence*, a nation of small capitalists.

Why these coupon-clippers and property owners should join a party with such a revolutionary label is best explained by saying that the soul of 1793 still goes marching on. This is the famous *mystique de gauche* which pervades the speeches of Radical politicians as the memory of Jackson and Lincoln does those of our Democratic and Republican orators. Yet a Radical Deputy, while talking Left, often votes Right. Hence the puzzling contradiction between the party name and some of the policies it actually backs—a characteristic, indeed, of other French parties. The perplexed Lord Cecil asked a Deputy, "To what party do you belong?" The latter clarified, "I am

one of those Republicans of the Left, who sit in the Center and vote with the Right." No matter that such a Deputy has subscribed to some very radical planks. He feels, nevertheless, that he has done his duty by giving lip allegiance to the spirit of the greatest of revolutions. Albert Thibaudet was right when he said, "The Radical party is the only party in France which would fight the Great French Revolution all over again."

Ballyhoo

This, then, was the great reservoir of political emotion tapped by the *Front Populaire*. One need not question, however, the sincerity of the fiercely Republican sentiments of the various parties of the alliance by saying that clever direction of the campaign and effective ballyhoo had their part in the victory. Some extremely able propaganda dramatized the fascist danger in terms that a humble cultivator of grapes, for example, possessing 7 hectares of land and bonds of the Government in his sock, could well understand.

The Iowa farmer has his Wall Street. The French peasant and tradesman has his *Comité des Forges*. The leaders of the People's Front left nothing unsaid that might arouse this inevitable animosity of the "little fellow." "Big Business" is just as much a surefire expression in France as in the United States. Accordingly, it was a great misfortune for Colonel Casimir de la Rocque, when it was revealed that one of his backers was president of the electrical trust. An especially able cartoonist forthwith portrayed the Colonel with a light-bulb protruding from his military breast.

Only second to the trust-busting complex of the Frenchman is his anti-royalism. The anti-fascists did not fail to emphasize that the Colonel's brother was secretary to the Pretender to the French throne. Satire was enlisted and "Count Casimir" was a nickname hard to live down. "Casimir" seems as funny to a Frenchman as "Aloysius" to an American.

In truth, Colonel de la Rocque was an easy mark. He certainly proved himself no Hitler in his handling of the masses. A military man, with no little talent on the drill-ground, he had no turn for demagogy in the Hitler manner. His following was conspicuously upper-class. The student, the *fils-de-famille* type, the well-off war veteran, made up the ranks of the *Croix de Feu*. Moreover, as a leader, the Colonel was distinctly lacking. He talked audaciously of the "coming day" and of "taking power", without doing anything very much about it. When there was shooting, as in the Rue Feydeau affair, or the Limoges riots, the Colonel was too ready to disavow his rowdy comrades. All in all, he was indecisive, did not understand propaganda, did not put on a good show. Long before the election, his forces were definitely on the decline.

Can the Popular Front Endure?

But if the "menace" was disappearing, would the alliance—formed for no other reason than to meet it—endure? In spite of all those high-pressure rallies in the Place de la Bastille, in which Radicals linked armed with Communists yelling "Hang La Rocque" and "Down with Fascism," detached observers were skeptical. They claimed that the *Front Populaire* was no more than an anti-fascist militia. Let the enemy disappear, and the *Front* would dissolve; or if it did take power, the various parties in it would break up into quarreling factions. Then the fascists would really have their day.

But at this point, just as the uproar over the *Croix de Feu* was losing its edge, the *Front Populaire* changed

gears. The shrewd propagandists were equally shrewd politicians. They, too, saw the weakness. Wrangling for months (but sedulously concealing their differences behind closed doors) they arrived at a regular platform on which to wage the electoral campaign. The main planks were as follows: a public works program, a forty-hour week, nationalization of the armament industry, and reform of the Bank of France. In this last plank, the framers wrought even better than they had expected. They raised a cry that caught the fancy of the public.

On the boulevards of Paris, vendors did prosperous trade in a pamphlet exposing "The 200 Families Which Control The Bank of France." This was no unfounded ballyhoo. An oligarchy, composed of wealthy families and industrial groups (200 was a very rough figure) did possess preponderant power in the council of this central bank whose financial policies shaped the economic life of the country. Furthermore, there was much evidence that the Bank of France had forced down the throat of successive governments the unpopular policy of deflation. It was even asserted that the Bank had blackmailed Premiers into submitting to its deflationary demands by producing rungs on the gold supply.

All, of course, for the most respectable of reasons—to keep France on the gold standard. But inflationary sentiment was growing. The people felt that Flandin, with his easy credit ideas and Rooseveltian program had fallen under the attack of the "200", that Laval had cut pensions and salaries with the Bank standing over him. This was no way, they felt, to deal with a situation in which living costs were high, the worker took cuts or went on the dole, and the farmer got little for his produce. France, groaning under a depression marked by many of the characteristics of the Hoover *dégringolade,* savagely turned against the "financial Bastille", as the symbol of their troubles. This was the great economic ground-swell which carried forward the popularity of the *Front Populaire.* The cry of the "200" took the same place in the French campaign as did the "Forgotten Man" in our 1932 campaign.

The hoarsest shouters of this slogan in the ensuing race were the Communists. This party put on a new dress to win votes; in no other way could it have made such large gains. Its posters were printed in the nationalistic red-white-blue; it sought to conciliate Catholics and elements of the *Croix de Feu;* its battle-cry instead of "Soviets Everywhere" was "A free, strong, happy France." The Communists set the note, the Socialists and Radicals carried on in much the same spirit.

The Right was completely outmaneuvered. For propaganda, it could find nothing better to exploit in its press than the situation in Spain, where a *Front Populaire* had celebrated a disorderly victory. The Left satirists did damage to this line with a skit in a humorous weekly, which represented Azaña writing to the French Premier advising him to hold the elections a week earlier because, "we haven't enough churches to burn down for the benefit of the *Matin.*" Politicians of the Right sought to form, rather ineffectively, a *Front National.* The *Croix de Feu,* with more energy than the politicians, attempted some strategy by voting for Communist candidates in the primary election, hoping to scare the bourgeois into voting Right in the run-off. In this they obtained some minor successes, but in all, they were signally defeated. The *Front Populaire* parties, except in a few instances, held together remarkably well. Radicals faithfully voted for Socialists and Communists, Communists voted for Radicals and Socialists,

etc. As a result, the *Front Populaire* won a clear majority of 381 seats in the Chamber, easily enough to carry out their program.

Revolution?

Thus the first act of the drama. It was by no means revolution. Nor could the events of the first month under the Blum Government be described as revolution. The strikes were essentially wages-and-hours disputes, whatever their red trimmings. After all, the stay-in strike has been tried by quite respectable labor unions in England and America. As for the legislative program of the new Government (essentially that of the *Front Populaire* platform) it hardly looks like an overturn of capitalism. Obviously, it is a "New Deal." In some respects, (in the currency policy) it is even more cautious than the Roosevelt experiment.

What the next act will be depends on the way the Government guides its bark through the shallows of mass unrest and economic depression. But principally it depends on the solidity of the *Front Populaire*, which in turn rests on the questionable allegiance of the Radicals. Already the Right Wing of this party is becoming worried about wage increases and the waving of red flags. For while the petty bourgeois looks back with fervor to the old French Revolution, he is timid about a new one which will affect his property and investments. Like the Left Deputy whom Lord Cecil interrogated, he may vote Right.

The Right is now following a new and better tactic, that of detaching the radicals from the *Front Populaire*. If it meets with success, trouble looms. Break-up of the *Front Populaire* may mean serious disorders, perhaps civil war—and then either fascism, or violent overthrow of capitalism.

Meanwhile, there is no revolution in France. The victory of the *Front Populaire* may or may not be a prelude, a taking of the Bastille preparatory, to a bigger show. It certainly does not constitute another French revolution, nor the smashing of the capitalist *ancien régime*.

France: Friends and Obligations

FRENCH thrift before the war was best described by Alfred Neymark's words, "France is a creditor everywhere and nowhere a debtor." The war changed this and now France is a debtor nation because its own debtors went bankrupt. But French thrift is now experiencing a rebirth under different forms. Today's hoarding in France creates a situation that can become dangerous.

—*l'Epargne en France (1914-34)* by Jean Leseure, Professor at the Sorbonne Law School, Paris.

My stand in favor of settling our debt with the United States has not changed since 1932, the year of disgrace, when I advocated a settlement. At that time, the United States appeared to be getting closer to us and the League, in favor of a common action for peace. I did not stay silent when France remained insensible to the generous and fraternal appeal of President Roosevelt, who showed himself in a conciliatory mood. The peace of the world suffered as a result. Will Mr. Léon Blum dissipate the misunderstanding?

—Edouard Herriot in *l'Information*, Paris.

France counts beyond the Atlantic on the cordial sentiments of the American democracy, a natural friend of free nations.

—From a speech by French Foreign Minister Delbos, June 23, 1936.

LEON BLUM

—in whose hands, for the moment, rest the destinies of France, perhaps the peace of Europe—By Johannes Steel

WHEN Leon Blum became Premier of France, the German Foreign Office issued a statement to the effect that it "looked without prejudice upon the new French Government." M. Blum's racial origin, and Herr Hitler's racial policies, considered, the statement might be said to go further than its wording. Even Hitler seems to have realized that M. Blum not only is the first Jew to become Premier of France, but that he may yet prove to be the greatest statesman France has produced since the French Revolution.

For seventeen years Leon Blum bided his time. When finally on June 6, 1936, after two decades of waiting, he accepted office, he also took power. One million men and women were out on strike the day he moved into the Hotel Matignon, official residence of France's Premiers. In a twelve-hour conference he delivered what no other French politician before succeeded in doing. He not only brought the leaders of the French trade unions and strikers onto the same table as the representatives of the most conservative and reactionary industrialists, but he refused to let either party go home until they had reached an agreement.

He said it was the "Will of Parliament," "the will of the elected representatives of the French people, that there should be industrial peace in France."

Thus he proclaimed himself ruler of France by virtue of the demos. And today he might be called the first Democratic dictator in the world.

Blum, the complete antithesis of all other men in power, Blum the intellectual, the man who was always the thinker, the philosopher, acted more surely and swiftly than even the most autocratic ruler or any of his predecessors in the life of the Third Republic. His action has already become the symbol of a regenerated democracy. Blum vindicated democracy in Europe by acting fast and with precision on behalf of that democracy. It might well be that the course of European history has been changed by a man who, six months ago, was still an almost intangible enigma, and who, almost overnight, become a man of destiny—a man of destiny not because he wanted to be one and arrogated himself the role of savior, like men of the Hitler-, Mussolini-, Starhemberg-, political-adventurer type, but because he finally acceded, to the insistent demands of the majority of the French people.

Leon Blum is difficult to write about. He dresses like a dandy and collects modern art. Like Cardinal Richelieu and Anatole France, he adores cats. He is too cultured to crave popularity, too honest to be a demagogue, and too canny to be a doctrinaire.

When I called last November at No. 25 Quai Bourbon, historic Isle St. Louis, overlooking the Seine, I did not think that this man would ever accept office. He had so much else to live for.

After passing the scrutiny of the two

agents de police stationed before his door, I was ushered into an anteroom whose walls were lined with books and whose mosaic floor has sagged in the middle during a century of use.

A young woman asked my business, returned after a few minutes and said: "Please do not keep M. Blum for long; his wife is ill and he wants to be with her."

Soon a man appeared whose quick and nervous gait belied his 64 years, and we sat down in a surrounding that was more the workroom of an art collector and litterateur of the *fin de siècle* than of the future Prime Minister of the French Republic.

Long supple fingers on esthetic hands subtly underlined points made in the conversation, with gestures strikingly like Toscanini conducting. It was "conversation" almost a monologue, during which this writer listened spellbound to well-rounded and thought-out sentences in which one could almost hear the commas and semicolons.

I was talking to the editor of the *Populaire* who just had answered Pierre Laval, then Premier of France, upon the latter's attempts to muzzle the press. He had done so in a fashion that shook even the stolid countenance of the "Matignon d'Auvergne" horsetrader from the Auvergne country. Laval, by an emergency decree, had passed some two hundred and fifty laws, among which he slipped in one which made it prohibitive, under various penalties, to insult the chiefs of foreign governments. Next day there was an article signed by Blum in his *Populaire* which said among other things that he, Blum, regretted this law which made it impossible for him to continue to call Mussolini the murderer of Mateotti without incurring the danger of going to jail.

For seventeen years now, Blum's biting sarcasm has been the near-terror of every French Premier with whose policy Leon Blum did not agree. Whenever his gaunt figure appeared on the rostrum ,to wind up a debate, the betting began in the corridors of the chamber whether the respective Government would survive the day.

And yet this man is no orator. He nervously twists his handkerchief in his hands and keeps on adjusting an ever-moving old-fashioned pincenez on his long wide-nostriled nose. Leon Blum talks like an academician, or a professor of mathematics, marshaling facts, and facts only. This is the reason why everybody, friend and foe alike, listens to Blum and respects him.

In May 1929, when he returned after a short absence from the Chamber to his old seat, Poincaré, his mast formidable enemy and the frequent victim of his slashing attacks, interrupted a speech to remark to him: "You are very welcome here, Monsieur. We have need of your light and counsel. It is well for France that men like you should sit in the Chamber."

Blum entered the Chamber in 1919 after a notable literary career as editor of the magazine called *The Shell*, and was the first to print the abstract poems of Valery, who is now among the immortals. He published a volume of imaginary *Conversations Between Goethe and Eckermann*."

The Dreyfus trial, however, brought Blum out of his literary and esthetic ivory tower. He fell under the spell of Jean Leon Jaurès, whose mantle he was to inherit later, and began to write for *l'Humanité*.

In 1914 he became Under Secretary to the Minister of Public Works. By 1919 he was boss of the Socialist Party, dictated its platform and was Deputy in the Chamber. Since that day he never drank a glass of wine and has hardly eaten much else than noodles and white bread.

In 1914, just a few weeks before the

outbreak of the war, Maurras, who later became the editor of the *Royalist L'Action Française*, kept on demanding that twelve bullets should be shot into Jaurès who, with all his might, tried to prevent the holocaust. A short time later Jaurès was assassinated by a man whose name, strangely enough, was Villain. Maurras wrote on April, 1935, in *L'Action Francaise*, "Let us shoot Blum, but from behind."

On February 13, Blum was riding back from the Chamber in the car of his friend Monnet when two hundred Camelots du Roi wrecked the machine and nearly beat him and his wife to death. Charles Maurras who was indicted the following day for incitement to murder, promptly retorted, "I am sorry we failed and humiliated at being considered nothing more than an accomplice in this affair."

There is beautiful irony in the fact that Leon Blum, who was born of Alsatian stock—his father became a millionaire trading in silk—should be ruler of the Third Republic at the same time that Adolf Hitler is Chancellor of the Third Reich.

For Blum was probably the first man to speak against the Treaty of Versailles and call it an act of sheer madness and injustice, and for ten years, almost until the very day that Hitler assumed power, he was Germany's greatest champion for arms equality in France.



© Pictures. Inc.

"Everyone***listen to Blum, and respects him." He warms up before the "mike."

chinese puzzle....by h. r. ekins

from japan come more pieces for the far eastern jig-saw. mr. ekins starts you toward the solution.

BEHIND the Orient's latest crisis, involving the tramp of Japanese troops in North China and the perennial struggle between the Nanking and Canton Governments, lies a major aim of Japanese foreign policy. It calls for the partition of China.

A China divided against itself is not enough. The Republic has been split into conflicting groups, armies, and governments since the Imperial Dynasty was toppled from the Dragon Throne in 1911. But it has remained too unwieldy for the Japanese to handle. Now their patience appears to have been exhausted and they have precipitated a show-down which may again change the map of Old Cathay and reshuffle the personages who have played the leading rôles on the Chinese scene since the morning of September 18, 1931, when the Japanese garrison at Mukden moved to an occupation which resulted in the transformation of the five northeastern provinces of Manchuria into the Empire of Manchoukuo.

The issues are not as confused as they seem in the welter of news dispatches reporting unfamiliar names of places and men and petty incidents which nowhere but in China could cause the movements of whole armies and fleets and the complete disruption of social, economic, and political life in vast areas. Japan has despaired of a united China with which she could be on friendly terms so as to hasten her ambition for a Far Eastern hegemony with Tokyo as the center of direction and control.

The Japanese want Chinese recognition of the admittedly puppet state over which the former Mr. Henry Pu Yi, now the Emperor Kang Teh, rules nominally from Changchun, capital of Manchoukuo. With such recognition, European and American resistance to recognition of Japan's conquest on the Asiatic mainland might be broken. The Japanese want economic preference in the Chinese market. They wish to increase their investments and sales, already very heavy, and insure unquestioned control over an area in which some day it may be necessary to base troops for a military struggle with the Soviet Union. The main obstacle to the Japanese program has been the unwillingness of any powerful Chinese leader, or group, to assume responsibility for taking a realistic view of Sino-Japanese relations.

Japanese bayonets must be used to protect Japanese trade. Only by force of arms have the Japanese had their way in China since they launched their ambitious adventure in Manchuria. Their program has been halted by Chinese appeals to world sentiment, collectively through the League of Nations, and to the individual governments of countries enjoying large stakes in the Chinese market and its vast potentialities. It has been delayed by that faction in the Japanese Army which persists in taunting the Soviet

Union into a war to settle the manifold disputes between Tokyo and Moscow.

The Japanese blame most of their troubles in China on the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party. They are anxious to smash the Kuomintang, which has prevented any real partition of China, which has fostered anti-Japanese economic boycotts, and which has encouraged what resistance there has been to the Japanese.

Both Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's recognized Central Government at Nanking and the southwestern political council at Canton, supported by the bayonets of Generals Chen Chi-tang, Li Tsung-jen, and Pai Tsung-hsi, pretend to be depositories of the hope for China's salvation as left by Sun Yat-Sen, father of the Revolution.

Accordingly, at a time when the stage is set for breaking off North China from the remainder of the country, what better plan could there be than to foment sufficient trouble between Canton and Nanking to plunge the country into civil war?

That would give Japan time to complete arrangements and negotiations for an autonomous Chinese state north of the Yellow River and perhaps even give time for a settlement of the Japanese argument as to whether North China should be added to Manchoukuo, making it possible to restore Emperor Kang Teh to the Dragon Throne of his fathers under the glittering yellow tiles roofing the Forbidden City in Peiping.

It would keep the best Chinese armies occupied in internecine strife far from the scene of events in the shadow of the Great Wall. It might provide a pretext for intervention in both South China and the Yangtze Valley, at the great risk, however, of giving the badly battered Chinese Soviet Republic a new lease on life.

Chiang Kai-shek himself has never offered armed resistance to the Japanese program on the mainland. When Manchuria was being taken in 1931 and when Shanghai was battered by Japanese guns in 1932, the flower of his armies was engaged in an effective campaign against the Reds in Kiangsi Province. He knew he was in no position to fight a foreign invader. His own control depended on antagonizing the Japanese as little as possible and on refusing to recognize the fruit of their conquest.

And that is what angered the Japanese. Nanking's passive resistance prevented *de jure* recognition of their creation of a new state outside the Great Wall. It frustrated their plans for the economic exploitation of North China and effective penetration to the plains of Mongolia, from which they may have to strike at Red Russia in the far distant marches of the Lake Baikal area.

With each passing year Chiang Kai-shek has increased the size, strength, equipment, and efficiency of his army, the greatest one-man-controlled force in China. Japanese North China activities of 1936 found the Generalissimo stiffening in his refusal to play ball with the Imperialists of the Island Empire. Japanese diplomats at Nanking were making no headway. Manchoukuo remained unrecognized. The Old Chinese anti-Japanese boycotts were revived upon renewal of Japanese military activity in North China. After a stormy decade of domination Chiang was increasing his power. Yearly, often monthly, predictions that he could not last much longer rebounded in ridicule on the prophets. The communist menace was subsiding. Great Britain and the United States were helping to solve Nanking's financial problems. Chiang would have to have an internal crisis which would cost him money and men and take his troops as far away from

the banks of the Yellow River as possible.

Always at hand were his old enemies in Canton. And they were thorns in the sides of the Japanese. Safe in the southwest, the Cradle of the Republic and modern Chinese Nationalism, they had kept anti-Japanese sentiment in China alive. They had inspired the costly boycotts and led the wails for sympathy and help which prompted Occidental powers to list Japan as the Bad Boy in the Family of Nations.

A revival of civil war between Nanking and Canton would achieve a manifold purpose: It would keep the Government recognized by the Powers from attempting to frustrate the Japanese program in North China; it would discredit China abroad as a nation unable to stand united even in the face of foreign aggression; it would dissipate China's improving military effectiveness; it might conceivably eliminate Chinese leaders whom the Japanese had found recalcitrant; and it might accelerate the partition of China into a group of individual and avowedly autonomous governments with which the Japanese could treat separately and perhaps negotiate agreements which would last and which could be proclaimed to the Chinese people and the world.

The latest hostilities between the Central Government and southwestern forces began with a Cantonese movement to resist Japanese aggression in the north. It was transformed speedily into a campaign to overthrow Generalissimo Chiang. It revived all the old hatreds and bitterness between the Nanking and Canton wings of the Kuomintang. To what extent it was inspired by the Japanese is a secret only to be guessed at.

Chiang opposed the Cantonese demand to permit free northward passage of southwestern troops, not as an agent acting to further the Japanese desires, but in accordance with his consistent, courageous program for a united China. He argued that diplomatic relations with Tokyo, war against the Japanese, and the protection of endangered territory were matters for which the Central Government was responsible. He pleaded that no single province or coalition of provinces should act independently of the central power.

His pleas for internal peace were ignored by the Kwangsi and Kwangtung Province Overlords. Chen Chitang, Li Tsung-jen, and Pai Tsung-hsi mobilized their armies and the Kwangsi forces, at least, invaded Hunan Province, an area under Nanking's jurisdiction. Canton forces were rushed northward to the borders of Fukien, also a Province within the scope of what influence Nanking exerted outside the Yangtze valley. There was nothing for Chiang to do but to move his troops southward, the while negotiating for another patch-work settlement.

By that time the southwestern warlords were in so deep that the Kwangtung and Kwangsi chieftains found their positions of control and virtual independence jeopardized. Regardless of the extent to which the Japanese were responsible for inspiring the struggle, the people of the southwest, the masses, were sincere in their anti-Japanese sentiment. They believed the time had come to save China.

The farmers carrying hoes and the coolies who dropped the shafts of their rickshas, even the common soldiers in the private Kwangsi-Kwangtung armies, were motivated by patriotism when they demonstrated for war with Japan. The motives of the men in control were another matter.

But they had succeeded in inflaming their followers against both the Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek. They had allowed a situation to materialize from which there could be no withdrawal

without submission to Nanking or acknowledgment to their people that they had fired a dud. Things looked fine for the Japanese. China again was in turmoil. The country's power was being consumed in internal strife. The area north of the Yellow River was left to the mercies, or otherwise, of the Japanese, conniving to break it off from the remainder of the country, and so make Japanese domination over it assured, if not unchallenged.

It would be folly to forecast the outcome so far as the fate of territories and the fortunes of armies in battle are concerned. But unless rescued by obvious Japanese intervention, the southwestern warlords appear doomed. No competent observer of the Chinese scene could believe other than that Chiang Kai-shek will emerge stronger than ever from the present imbroglio unless the Japanese actually take the field against him. It may even be that he will extend his control to the Provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, areas that never have been garrisoned by northern troops in the history of Republican China. Smashing of the Kuomintang seems doubtful. Its tenets and form have taken a deep hold on Chinese intellectual and political life. The legends, if not the facts, of Sun Yat-Sen's doctrines are enshrined in the hearts of many Chinese too proud to bow in spirit, at any rate, before domination by force.

That leaves the question of North China's fate and Japan's abiding desire for Chinese recognition of her accomplished acts and cooperation in furthering and extending them.

If internal strife so weakens China that continued passive resistance remains impossible, there may be a new deal in Oriental diplomacy, with consequent ratification of Manchoukuo's status and clarification of North China's situation.

There would appear little doubt that the Provinces of Hopei and Chahar will become autonomous in fact and under absolute, unquestioned Japanese control, with the eventual possibility that they will be merged with Manchoukuo. Of itself, that would continue the process of partitioning China, not among Occidental powers, but among the Chinese themselves—and, of course, the Japanese.

Except for those who have an axe to grind, it may be said that North China is no more sympathetic to the Japanese program than South China.

But North China resistance is at a low ebb. Since 1933 when the Japanese advanced south of the Great Wall after conquering Jehol Province and adding it to Manchoukuo, Hopei and Chahar have been under Japanese domination. The Chinese flag has continued to fly over Government offices, but Japanese garrison forces have operated without challenge and Japanese officials have dictated policies. Japanese goods have blanketed North China in disregard of the attempts of the Chinese Maritime Customs to collect tariffs.

Many of the soldiers remaining in North China have faced Japanese guns, or have seen the mighty Japanese military machine on parade. They have no will to die in a lost cause. They lack equipment and money. Above all, they lack a leader for battle.

Japanese troops are astride every North China railway and highway. Every strategically and tactically important town in Hopei Province has its quota of brown-clad, grimly determined Nipponese troops. They are ready to write a new chapter in the major Japanese aim for the partition of tortured China.

The HOLY LAND LOOKS WEST

A Westernized people seeks to reclaim the East —and a Western civilization rises on ancient Palestine.

BY DAVID GOLDBERG

TO SPEAK of Palestine with complete detachedness is humanly impossible, not alone because of the gripping drama which this time is being staged there, but also because, throughout history, the rôle which Palestine has played in the experience of the human race has been essentially a subjective one. The Promised Land of the Jew, the birthplace of the religions of both Christian and Moslem, and the Holy Land of all, it never was regarded by people as just another politico-geographical fact, as Syria and Egypt, for example. Indeed, so many purely emotional stakes have been driven into the enigmatic soil of Palestine, and so many hopes pinned on them, that to lift it out of the realm of emotion for any reason whatsoever would be stripping it of its greatest significance to the human race.

I shall not, therefore, deliberately deaden the living, throbbing facts of Palestine for the sake of attaining a feigned objectivity. But neither will I treat them apocryphally or theologically, in the unfortunate manner of many a writer on the subject. My endeavor will be to present the facts of present-day Palestine *realistically,* that is, as part of the environment which produced them, and not *independent* of it. That environment is even today mostly halo; yet, it is possible to penetrate it and get at the reality of the facts it enshrouds.

❖ ❖ ❖

By "present-day" Palestine I mean the era which dawned upon the Holy Land in 1896, when Dr. Theodore Herzl first published his *The Jews' State.* During the forty years which followed, the history of Palestine has hinged primarily on two pivots: the Zionist Manifesto in July, 1897, and the Balfour Declaration of November, 1917. The Manifesto declared Zionism to aim *"at the establishing for the Jewish people of a publicly and legally secured home in Palestine,"* while the Balfour Declaration announced that *"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."*

Prior to the Zionist Manifesto, such attempts at colonizing Palestine as were made by Jews bore a sporadic character and were stimulated largely by the philanthropic largess of the late Baron Edmond de Rothschild. Individual Jews went to the Holy Land on *pilgrimage*—mainly to die there, and not to live. As late as 1920, before the Balfour Declaration had time to take effect, the Jewish population of Palestine did not exceed 80,000—the

majority aged people subsisting on the generosity of their coreligionists abroad. In no sense were they material for the upbuilding of the national homeland.

Zionism, however, changed all that by imbuing a fair portion of the Jewish people with the ideal of national self-emancipation and restoration, holding out Palestine as the sole solution to the vexing Jewish problem in the *Diaspora*. If Zionists did not actually precipitate a mass immigration of Jews to Palestine, they at least created an ideological predilection for it. The Balfour Declaration, coming, as it did after twenty years of Zionist propaganda, naturally enhanced that predilection, in so far as, within certain limits, it rendered Jewish mass immigration to Palestine an actual political possibility.

For the purpose of this narrative, it is not necessary to argue that the restoration ideal alone would not have brought so many Jews to Palestine in so short a time; that more potent factors were responsible for it—for example, the Ukrainian pogroms during the Petlura regime, the economic debacle in Poland, and the advent of Nazi-ism in Germany. Suffice to say that all these terrible misfortunes were harnessed to the Zionist ideal, with the result that a development was set afoot which, for the sheer romance of achievement, is without a parallel in modern history.

Westernization

Measured by our own Western standards, the transformation which Palestine underwent at the hands of the Jews since the Balfour Declaration is truly phenomenal. Mandated Palestine is only 10,000 square miles in area, two thirds being rock and sand, while most of its arable portion (some 2,500,000 acres) stood sadly in need of amelioration. The air was saturated with pestilence, the water, such as was to be had, was polluted, and the cities reeked of filth; there was not a semblance of civic sanitation anywhere in Palestine, save in a German or Jewish settlement here and there. By all the tokens of civilization, Palestine was one of the most forbidding countries on earth.

Present-day Palestine, on the other hand, is, on the whole, a Western country in every essential respect, and one must go back to the Arab village or to the native quarters of the cities to discover the Palestine that was—and even there he will find the inroads of change. Palestinian homes today are equipped with every modern convenience known in the United States, including automatic heating and refrigeration, gas and electricity, bath and shower, telephone and radio. The cities are clean and are civically cared for, with parks, playgrounds, ample modern schools, libraries, open forums and theaters. The visitor will find Palestinian hotels are more than commodious; they are luxurious, some even pretentiously so. And you travel nowadays in Palestine by auto over good highways; not, as in the past, on the proverbial donkey over broken roads. And your eyes no longer tire of the dismal barrenness round about, for the vista now is of a landscape studded with orange groves and shade trees, and of alternate patches of wheat and barley and truck gardens. In the distant perspective, too, you behold industrial plants here and there—busy bee-hives, the like of which Palestine hadn't seen in all the centuries of its lethargic history. Everywhere the spectacle is the same: the West encroaching upon the East, to bestir and ultimately dislodge it.

Perhaps, the tempo of Palestinian development is best typified by the city of Tel-Aviv, of which Jews are very



© United Palestine Appeal

"A city rose on what was once unfathomed sand . . ." Tel-Aviv today.

fond because it is their solid, undisputed achievement in modern Palestine; they built it with their own hands, as it were, from ground up; and a city rose on what was once unfathomed sand.

I have seen Tel-Aviv grow from a population of 30,000 in 1926, to a population of 50,000 in 1931, and to 80,000 in 1934, when I visited the Holy Land for the third time. Today Tel-Aviv is said to harbor 150,000 souls, all Jews. It is by far the largest city of refuge for the Jews of Germany and Poland, and more recently for the victims of the latest Arab insurrection.

Jerusalem and Haifa, too, have expanded enormously during the past fifteen years, albeit not as spectacularly as Tel-Aviv, for in those two cities there is an entrenched Arab element. Withal, Arab Haifa is slowly but surely losing its identity under the influence of the British and the Jews. So, too, is Jerusalem, save for the walled-in part of the city, which, being the shrine of the three religions, is maintained intact.

The prospect of the Holy Land being westernized by Jews is a fascinating paradox. For the process is being carried on, not by a people of Western nativity, but by Jews—orientals who occidentalized perforce of two thousand years of exile. According to Zionist doctrine, the Jews are now returning to Palestine to re-establish their nationhood and recapture the trend they lost while in exile. This, however, logically would call, not for the westernization of Palestine, but for the restoration of its pristine beginnings, in order to make Jewish reorientation possible.

But what do we see? In effect, the Jew in Palestine continues the trend he

acquired in exile and makes no serious effort to recapture the old one. He has become a Westerner. And all the patterns he acquired in the *Diaspora* he now introduces in his so-called Homeland. The Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus is in itself a paradox, in the face of the Holy Temple which is still in ruins and has nothing but a remnant of a Wailing Wall to mark its place. For a university, surely, is an epitome of Western culture; it is not of the East.

Industry

Recent figures made public by the Jewish Agency for Palestine reveal that some 46,000 Jews today derive their livelihood from agriculture, 97,000 from industry, 42,000 from building activities, 66,000 from trade, and 41,000 from the professions. All told, there are about 400,000 Jews domiciled this day in the Holy Land.

Further statistics by the same agency reveal that while Jewish investment in agriculture to the end of 1935 exceeded $100,000,000, the investments in home and industrial construction for the past 4 years alone exceeded $135,000,000, exclusive of commercial investments.

Of that impressive sum, some $10,000,000 was spent abroad on machine equipment, so that Palestine might produce its own machine-made goods and bring about a more favorable balance of trade. The goal is to make Palestine industrially self-sufficient and technically independent. To show to what extent this has already been achieved, I might quote from a late issue of the *Palestine Review*, published in Jerusalem:

"What does Palestine, in actual fact, produce to-day? It is perhaps easier to give a list of what is not produced. There would be no exaggeration in saying that one may furnish one's house, from cellar to attic, with Palestine-made furniture, curtains, kitchen utensils, bath, crockery, cutlery, carpets, mirrors, and even radio and refrigerator. It is even possible to build almost exclusively of local products, down to the glass-panes of the windows. It would certainly involve no sacrifice to eat, and also to wear, nothing but home products . . . "

The record of electrical energy consumption in Palestine during the past four years is further enlightening. Figures supplied by the Ruthenberg Electrical Plant, which furnishes energy to the whole of Palestine with the exception of Jerusalem (served by a British concession) reveal that the number of kilowatt hours consumed by industry has jumped from 4,100,000 in 1932 to 21,000,000 in 1935. For the same period, the energy consumed for domestic use mounted from 7,500,000 in 1932 to 29,000,000 in 1935. All this is exclusive of Jerusalem, whose population is supplied with electricity from another source.

Financing An Ideal

To be obliged to purchase land from unwilling sellers and then spend some more for amelioration; to clear up waste places, drain polluted waters and tap the bowels of the earth for a new clean supply; to build and project new settlements by the hundreds, construct highways, develop industries, and create machinery for production and distribution—all this, as well as the creation and maintenance of the cultural life of the community obviously required immense, almost unlimited funds, such as you might expect only a government with taxing power to command. But what government ever taxed the Jewish people for their expenditures in Palestine?

No government ever levied a Palestine tax upon the Jewish people—not even the moral government of the



© United Palestine Appeal

"* * * to clear up waste places * * * construct highways, develop industries . . ."

World Zionist Organization. True, the two fiscal Zionist agencies, the *Keren Kayemet* (National Fund) and the *Keren Hayesod* (Foundation Fund), steadily solicited money from the Jews; but what they collected, particularly during the past five years of depression, barely sufficed to finance labor immigration, subsidize cultural enterprises, and to budget the Jewish Agency and subsidiary administrative bodies. Actually, where did the money come from?

Some, of course, come from capitalists in other lands who saw in the project an opportunity for profitable land and building speculation. But mainly the money was brought in by the immigrants themselves, a good number of whom (especially of late) belonged to the so-called "capitalist category", meaning that they possessed on entry the sum of $5,000 or more.

According to Jewish Agency figures, of the 4,086 immigrants who entered Palestine in November, 1935, more than one thousand, or nearly 26%, were able to produce at least that amount; many had much more available.

The true perspective for the last few years, then, is that of an endless stream of troubled, capable human beings, many with money, pouring into Palestine, creating demands, and furnishing the means of supplying them—thus without end. And it is not to be wondered at that, in the middle of the world - wide depression, Palestine should have experienced an unparalleled prosperity—nay, a veritable boom. For it was the depression elsewhere which, in the last analysis, precipitated the exodus of Jews from the fascist-ridden countries and brought them, might and main, to the Holy Land. Were it not for the repercussions of the Italo-Ethiopian war and the present Arab insurrection, the boom might

have continued on and on. But that is another story.

Problems Within

It is said of Palestine that, climatically and topographically, it is a replica of the entire globe. Borrowing that simile to describe the complexion of Palestine's Jewish community, we could say with even greater truth that it is a replica of all the Jewish communities in the world. Those who speak of Jewish solidarity as of a fact should visit Palestine and disabuse their minds once and for all. There, as elsewhere, Jews unite in the face of untoward common danger only. Otherwise, they remain hopelessly divided on almost every question, be it religious, political, cultural, whatnot.

In Palestine there is the inevitable cleavage between capital and labor, of course—and there are all the parties from right to left with which we are familiar in our own democracy. There, also, are the usual religious and cultural differences. But in Palestine these differences are highly accentuated by factors unknown in the *Diaspora*—namely, the close physical proximity of the contending groups, and the universal proneness to inject nationalistic principle into every dispute, no matter how trivial.

In the great, wide *Diaspora* Jews are not obliged to step on each other's corns, so to speak, even if they do disagree. The dialect of the Polish Jew, for example, is, after all, no issue of personal concern to the Russian or German or American Jew. Each is free to choose the milieu which suits him best; there is plenty of room in the *Diaspora* for segregation.

But there is no such room in Palestine, which, if it were a level country, could be traversed by auto in less than two hours across its length and in less than one hour across its width.

Again, in the *Diaspora,* Jewish consciousness is more of an abstraction than a tangible feeling; it is more argued than consciously lived, and it is hardly to be discovered in actual daily pursuit. The question of social-economic order, for example, is not decided in the *Diaspora* by Jewish consciousness, nor is the question of acquiring property, or disposing of it, nor even the question of language or of dress.

It is different in Palestine, where every move a Jew makes is supposed to be inspired by the redemption motive. The acquisition of real estate by a Jew, the building of a house, and the launching of an industry, even for private gain, is deemed a Jewish achievement, insofar as it adds to the sum-total of Jewish acquisition in Palestine. And certainly, from the nationalistic standpoint, the language of the individual Jew matters, his dress matters, and even the architecture of his private home matters. Shall the language of Jewish Palestine be English, German, Yiddish, or Hebrew? One hears all. Shall the garb be Polish, or Western European? You see both. And shall the prevailing architecture be Spanish, Gothic, Byzantine, or British Colonial? It all depends on whom you ask about it.

Again, the religious question is certainly important enough from the nationalistic point-of-view, for it is illogical that a people returning to their ancient land should leave their ancient religion behind. Which religion, then, shall it be—the Orthodox, the Reform, or the Conservative? More than mere names are involved in this question: the practices are different, the philosophies are different, commonly the racial types they represent are different.

Much the same situation exists in the political field. Dominating the political arena of Jewish Palestine today is the *Histadrut* (Jewish Federation of Labor), composed of the right- and left-wing socialists of the moderate school.

They are flanked on each side by the General (bourgeois) Zionists, and together they form the center. At the extreme right of the *Histadrut* are the Revisionists, the most uncompromising wing in Zionism, often termed fascist, while at the extreme left are the communists. Similarly, the religious front of Jewish Palestine is made up of the *Mizrachi* and other more or less orthodox groups, forming the center, with the ultra-orthodox (*Aggudah*) to the right, and the non-religious nationalists (*Hofshim*) to the left.

Until recently the language of Jewish Palestine was undisputably Hebrew. However, since Jews began coming to Palestine by the thousand each month, they began to threaten the supremacy of Hebrew with the languages of their former milieu, mostly Yiddish, but also German, Polish, and English. This means that the battlefront has since been extended to include the language, and there is a society in Palestine, called *Maginei Hasafah* (Defenders of the Tongue), which carries on the battle. Consider these things, and you have a picture, not of a single Jewish national group, but of a whole league of Jewish nations, as it were. It has occurred to me then, as it must have occurred to many, that it will take some terrific pressure to hammer all these sharply differentiated Jewish types into a single national unity. And even that terrific pressure, I believe, will not accomplish it in Palestine if perennially the various groups are supported by fresh arrivals from the different environments.

But perhaps what the Jewish community in Palestine lacks as yet in the inner power of cohesion is made up from without by the pressure of Arab hostility against the entire project of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. However reluctantly, I must conclude my skeleton picture of the Holy Land by recording still another investment the Jews have made in it, not of money and energy and acumen, but of blood.

Tabulated chronologically, that investment amounted in 1920 to 15 killed and 110 wounded; in 1921, to 47 killed; in 1929, to 132 killed and 198 wounded; and during the present insurrection—who is to tell?

What will be the eventual fruits of this type of investment, I hesitate to say. What all along was believed to have been merely the result of artificially fanned jealousies which the British tolerated, if not encouraged, for their own imperialistic reasons, has now crystallized into an open revolt against the British themselves, which permits the Arab to hit the Jew both ways, as a national rival to himself and as a ward of the hated British. All sorts of possibilities lurk behind such a situation; but I can predict none.



STUDY IN WHITE: Lofty thought, white robes, white background—and the white-bearded prophet of India, Tagore. The setting almost tells the story of the India Tagore has set to music. The author of the accompanying article is seated at the right.

The Ideal—The Man—His India

TAGORE: *prophet of the East*

BY KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, who has welded an exquisite link between the cultures of the East and the West, recently celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday. His legion of admirers from every part of the world needed only that excuse to turn his quiet forest school near Calcutta into a maelstrom of festivity. Both hemispheres bowed to the poet-prophet who, for three quarters of a century, has denied with his silvery voice the famous lament of the poet of the West that "never the twain shall meet."

In its beauty of simplicity, but mainly in its august maturity, Tagore has revealed the soul of the East. He has done it in lyrics. He has set it to music. He has put its elusive essence into drama.

But obviously Tagore's reputation for giving the lie to Kipling's complacent couplet would not be quite so well established if the Hindu poet had been satisfied with merely drawing the curtains to show the true East to a world audience. Great as this service was, he saw fit to supplement it by taking to the East the message of the West. He studied in Europe, traveled extensively over its frontiers, and visited the United States.

When he returned home, he gave added emphasis to certain Western values, and assimilated into his teaching what he called the West's "strength of reality, which knows how to clear the path toward a definite end of practical good." It was soon apparent that Tagore's admiration for such a path was to be realized by very practical ends. In 1922 he established, with the help of Mr. L. K. Almhirst, a graduate of the Agricultural School at Cornell, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Shriniketan, very near his academic center of Shantiniketan. Shantiniketan and Shriniketan are today the two great wings of what is known as Visva-Bharati, the international university.

Tagore's synthesis of the culture of East and West is one strong cable in the spiritual bridge Tagore has raised between the two hemispheres. His poetic endeavors at interpretation make another. In both, he is a pioneer. And in 1913 the world recognized his services by awarding him the Nobel Prize in literature.

◆ ◆ ◆

To Indians, however, Tagore is above all the embodiment of unity between the ancient Aryavarta (the land of the Aryans) and Hindustan of today. His poetry runs the gamut of India's heritage. From the seers who sang the *Vedas* in the third millennium before Christ down to present-day Gandhi, Tagore is a synthetic reflection of them

all. The philosophers who wrote the *Upanishads* in 500 B.C. came to life again under his magic fingers. Buddha's teaching of *Maitri*, bond of love, took on new importance in Tagore's *Religion of Man*. Sages like Kabira and Nanak, who glorified mysticism in the Middle Ages; Emperor Akbar who Indianized Islam in the 16th century; and the *Baools*, devotee-poets who until recently sang on the banks of the Ganges in Bengal—all these voices of the past form a part of Tagore's lyric chorus. As a result, the poet has earned a place in the broken line of India's *Gurus*.

Hundreds of years ago, the *Gurus*, master teachers, were the guardians of Hindu culture. They kept Indian life in a constant flow by performing a dual task. In the first place, they interpreted old philosophies by writing *Bhasyas*, or treaties, in the terms of their times. Secondly they readjusted, through personal example and by teachings, the Hindu view of life to the new environment and conditions around them. In the twentieth century, Tagore has emulated them in both respects. Save for his interpretation of his country's heritage in the most modern linguistic forms and thought-images, India today might have been bereft of her traditional spiritualism. Save for his synthesis of the old idealism and the modern realism, India, like Japan, might have become today a lifeless imitation of the West.

Tagore was born in 1861, which was just about the time that the onslaught of Western culture, introduced by the British bureaucrats, began to disintegrate the settled life of Indian people. Born in one of the wealthiest and most cultured families, he himself was subject to a conflict of ideas. On the one hand, he heard as a boy the Upanishadic discourses of his father, Devendranath Tagore, whom his countrymen regarded as a *Maharshi*, spiritual leader. On the other hand, he associated with his cousin, brothers, and sisters, who professed the agnosticism of Mill and Bentham.

When young Rabindranath reached manhood and began to look around him, he soon realized that the denationalizing and demoralizing influence of the ruling race was sweeping over the peninsula. Parrotry of the mechanistic ideas of the West had replaced original thought in the minds of the leaders of public opinion. The idealistic view of life was held as outmoded.

Tagore saw that a well-balanced combination of those two intangibilities, Eastern idealism and Western realism, was the solution of the problem. But he also knew that unity between the two outlooks could not be effected as long as the master-and-slave feeling existed. Consequently Tagore set out to make India proud of her heritage. His poems became pregnant with traditional thought and imagery. His plays stultified the buffooneries of the imitators of the ruling class. In his lectures he expounded the wisdom of Hindu scriptures. On all sides, he essayed to reinstate India's past glory.

The exquisite beauty of Rabindranath's prose and verse, and the profound philosophy underlying all his writings, caught the imagination of the people. As a result, there dawned what may be described as the Tagore-age in India's literature. For the last forty years, Tagore's has been the most decisive influence, not only in the literature of his own province of Bengal, but throughout central and northern India. Literature as different as that in the Hindi, Gujerati, Marathi, and Urdu languages developed the lyric style of Tagore—so much so that it became a sure pitfall in the path of rising poets all over the nation. Since Kalidas, the greatest Sanskrit poet who flourished in the third century of the Christian era,

Tagore has been the first national poet in the true sense of the term. While 18,000 lines are credited to Milton, Tagore has, until now, written more than 100,000 lines of verse. His songs number from 1,300 to 1,400. Some of India's best novels and hundreds of short stories add to the long list of his writings. While his philosophical treatises and essays on art and literature lie on the library tables of the so-called intelligentsia, his fictional writings have also swayed the masses of his countrymen. Unschooled peasants have a great store of his songs on the tips of their tongues. And when the moon is high overhead, the people of the small towns often perform his historical plays in the streets for the free enjoyment of the entire community.

❖ ❖ ❖

Keeping in the tradition of the great teachers of the past, the man of letters became a man of action as a further step toward his goal of first reviving the ancient culture of India and, second, of seeking a higher unity between India's tradition and Western science. In 1901, he started an educational project on his father's estate about a hundred miles from Calcutta. Away from the bruit of the metropolis, yet within its easy accessibility, he built thatched huts for the handful of teachers and students who were caught by the inspiration behind the idea. This nucleus has now grown into Visva-Bharati.

There is a legend attached to Tagore's choice of the site for Shantiniketan, the abode of peace. The story is based on tradition, as are the histories of all *Gurukulas*, clans of the *Gurus*, of bygone days. The poet's father traveled the length and breadth of India, but never until he saw the isolated ground where Shantiniketan now stands could he locate the ideal spot for a meditative retreat. When he saw these particular acres in Bengal, he was struck by their appropriateness as the site for a sanctuary. He returned there again and again. Finally in 1863 he bought the ground, sculptured the wild growth into a beautiful garden, and erected a temple. In 1901 his son, Rabindranath, started his small school there.

Meditation is natural at this place. Often I sat there long before the daybreak, before the Ashram choir was out to welcome the sun with its music, and mingled with the serene peace that surrounded me. The morning star glimmered down through the foliage at me, a tiny speck in human flesh seated on stone. The synthetic process of mind that naturally flowed there amid the speaking silence of the forest and under the open sky has disappeared in the fast-moving life of Manhattan.

Such were the very ideals of Tagore when he chose the site for his school. The forest, according to him, unlike the desert, or rock, or sea, is living. About one hundred miles from the metropolis, the poet believes Shantiniketan gives its students a perspective on life which could be impossible in the city.

It is plausible that Tagore's selection of a forest retreat for his school was one of the first evidences of a behavior pattern that has gradually made the people of India identify him in their minds with the *Gurus* of the past. These master teachers of ancient Aryavarta were all forest-dwellers. Their usual abodes were either on some shady spot on the Ganges or on the bank of a lake in the Himalayas. Under the shadow of the banyan tree, encircled by the murmuring bamboo jungles, they lit their sacrificial fires. Around them were their wives, their children, and their pupils. The latter were the flowers of Indian youth—heirs to thrones, sons of Bania bankers, Brahmin boys, and future generals. Under the watch-

ful eyes of the *Gurus,* these students grew in sympathy with all creation. They communed with the soil under their plows, with the cows that they shepherded in surrounding pastures, with the rabbits and deer that came to their huts for feeding. The birds nesting in the thatched huts were their singing companions. The rivers that were stirred by their eel-like splashings as they took their morning baths had great messages for them. Communion with nature was the first step toward communion with life's fundamental problems, and direct contact with the *Guru's* life was the main part of their education in the forest school.

When citizens and leaders from the surrounding towns and cities came to pay homage to the master teachers, the latter gave them unbiased advice—the wisdom of their disinterested thinking in the midst of such tranquil surroundings and under the open sky. On rarer occasions, the *Gurus* left their *Ashramas* to accept the invitation of a perplexed king to direct his court for a time. They were thus the indirect moulders of community life, though untouched by it. Like a lotus unto water, they were connected with, yet untouched by, society.

It is in the light of this tradition of India's history that many of Tagore's obvious inconsistencies warrant a deep meaning. Although most of his thinking is devoted to the problem of India's uplift, Tagore like the *Gurus* of the past, seldom participates in direct politics. Only on rare occasions, such as a Gandhi fasting unto death, or the British Government conducting a massacre at Amritsar, does he move out of his forest retreat to put the weight of his personality on one side or the other. Politics interests him insofar as it has to do with social reform and educational enterprise. His is the privilege of thinking disinterestedly for the benefit of society. India has always recognized it as the most sacred service.

❖ ❖ ❖

Pupils at Shantiniketan commit scores of Tagore's melodious songs to memory without any conscious effort on their part. They learn the tunes from the morning rounds of the *Ashrama* choir which awakens the community with the poet's music. They pick up the tempo from evening dances. The great store of Tagore's songs, often deep in philosophy and always in charming style, furnish the students with an unique background on things and personalities around them. They also develop in them a proper life perspective in general. It is this privilege of living in the consciousness of the great poet and looking at the world through the philosopher's eyes that distinguishes Shantiniketan from modern schools in India. It was the same feature that distinguished *Gurukulas* of the past.

But Tagore's pupils at Shantiniketan get more than indirect contact with his great mind. The teacher and the taught have many an hour together. In classes under mango groves, and when the poet invites his students to hear one of his latest creations, in rehearsals of his plays which *Gurudeva* himself directs, and in informal wanderings in the garden, the students find in the aging saint a very humane, charming, and loving personality. In those contacts, Tagore's moments of exhilaration never fail to tense the nerves of students. They have a store of such tales.

There is the legend that once he was reading to his students the Bengali version of his *Religion of Man,* the lectures he delivered at Oxford. The room suddenly grew dark with an approaching summer storm. Thunder cracked very low over the building. Rain began to beat upon the windows.

The poet rose from his chair and hurried from the room, shouting, "The master calls me!" The next morning they learned that he had written his famous thunder-storm poem.

Then there is the story of a rehearsal when everything went wrong. The pupils were practicing dancing for one of Tagore's plays to be produced in Calcutta as a part of the spring festival. The poet himself was coaching the dancing and acting from an easy chair. Someone failed to follow the music. Exasperated out of his usual composure, Tagore, then already more than seventy, left his chair and began to execute the dance as he would have it done. Only the intervention of his daughter, Mira, who feared that he might collapse from the unwonted exertion, interrupted his demonstration of how to express the soul of that dance.

Then there is the tale of an afternoon when he suddenly stopped reading a lesson to his class and exclaimed, "Do you know, even a poet requires some rice once in a while?"

The entire life of Shantiniketan is thus centered around the versatile personality of Tagore. In spite of the great scholars and artists who have taken Tagore's abode of peace as their own permanent residence, in spite of a brilliant faculty and a growing student body, Shantiniketan is essentially a one-man show. So were the *Gurukulas* of ancient India. Tagore's forest retreat, like similar schools of the past, offers a sharp contrast to highly organized modern universities. The difference is between personality and organization. The former type of school does and must disintegrate soon after the central figure is removed from the scene; the latter outlives generations.

It is in the broken line of *Gurus* in their *Gurukulas*, however, instead of through organized seats of learning maintaining existence for long periods of time, that India has kept and enriched her culture so far. Shantiniketan of Tagore is perhaps the last flicker of the tradition.

To many a Westerner, therefore, Tagore's abode of peace has appeared as a fantastic anachronism in the present age of science and technology. Many an Indian also has felt that the idea has outlived its usefulness. But whatever the truth in the matter, there is no doubt of the fact that Tagore, by his teachings and through Shantiniketan, has answered a very pressing need of India in transition. Thanks to Rabindranath Tagore, perhaps the last of the *Gurus*, India will remain India even when the age of the machine has completely engulfed her superficially.



THERE'S A WOLF AT THE BACK DOOR, TOO.

—*Nashville, Tenn. Banner.*

—proving that governments always collect — even in Soviet Russia

TAXES *in the* SOVIET

BY ALBERT HANDY

THE common conception of what is properly regarded as a communist state excludes the conventional idea of taxation. It may therefore cause surprise, and perhaps shock preconceived notions, to learn that Soviet Russia possesses a well-developed system of taxes and public finance, which has many points of contact with the method of capitalistic countries.

First we should know something of the political set-up. The Soviet Union consists of a number of separate republics which include certain autonomous regions. There are three separate fiscal divisions, as in the United States. First, there is the Union, which corresponds to our Federal Government. (The Russian Central Government, however, was planned to possess much greater power than was ever contemplated for the President and Congress by those who framed the American Constitution.) Second, there are the autonomous republics corresponding to the States. Third, there are various subdivisions and municipalities.

Subsequent to 1930—that is, between the Sixth and Seventh Congress, "districts [were] created and village budgets inaugurated," it was reported last year by G. F. Grinko, Commissar of Finance.

"This administrative reform," the report went on to say, "* * * is reflected in the growth of the district and village budgets. District budgets increased from 700,000,000 rubles in 1929-30 to 1,800,000,000 rubles in 1934. During the same period village budgets increased from 260,000,000 rubles to 1,900,000,000 rubles."

Differing from the prevailing condition in the United States, the local budgets and those of the republics are comparatively minor items in the general plan of Government finance.

Russia was an outstandingly backward country, perhaps the most backward in Europe. Its tax system, even as late as 1900, was comparable to that of other continental nations a century and a half earlier. Because to the Slavonic mind the direct tax usually is anathema, most taxes were indirect. And probably more than 75% of the tax burden was borne by the proletariat.

Vodka, the consumption of which was encouraged by the Government, was the largest revenue-producer. E. T. Dillon has epitomized a whole chapter of pre-war Russia's fiscal history in this single sentence: "Direct taxes were gathered with the lash and indirect contributions to the treasury extracted through the tavern."

Russia had a death tax which produced little revenue. The ruling classes resisted all efforts to enact an income-tax law prior to the first World War. When, at last, during the war period, it was enacted, no effort was made to enforce it. In 1913 the tax revenues of the empire were two and one-tenth

billion rubles, and the receipts from governmental enterprises, including post-office, railroads and state forests, were one billion three hundred million. The largest single item of expenditure in the budget for that year was defense, which called for more than one quarter of the revenue. Almost as much was appropriated for governmental undertakings. Less than 5% was apportioned to education.

On January 1, 1914, the state debt was almost nine billion rubles, of which approximately one third was held abroad. During the war the debt was increased to twenty-six billion rubles. Then in 1917 came the Revolution—and repudiation. The debt was wiped out, with minor and inconsequential exceptions, and Soviet Russia became a pariah in the money markets of the world.

Fiscal History

The fiscal history of the Soviet Union divides itself into four distinct periods. The first of these is the period of military communism, extending from 1917 to 1921. The new State appears to have inherited the tax system of the old, but actually only the form was inherited. The former bases of taxation had been completely obliterated by the Revolution. If there was taxation, it took the form of a capital levy. In effect there was confiscation and expropriation. Those who had the power seized all the property which they could locate in the name of the state. Land, precious metals, securities, and chattels—all entered the capacious maw of Bolshevism. The local soviets, on their own initiative and without any authority from the central powers, participated in the general grab. The accidental and extraordinary character of this occasional "taxation" by the local boards excited deep resentment among the people and further disorganized an already confused and chaotic fiscal system. The union Government by a series of decrees promulgated during 1918 regulated and drastically limited the authority of the local bodies to levy taxes. It is interesting to recall that this situation is the reverse of that which dominated the minds of the makers of the American Constitution. There, every effort was made to restrict the fiscal power to be vested in the Federal Government.

Almost contemporaneous with the end of military communism was the Russian famine (1921-1922). The quotas of food taken from the peasants to be distributed among the vast body of consumers had drained all the resources of the villagers. The supply of grain left with the agricultural population for food and planting was totally inadequate to fill either requirement. As was the case in France under a corrupt monarchy two centuries before, the peasants were allowed to retain only the equivalent of a bare minimum of subsistence. Being then deprived of every incentive to enlarge their cultivated area and improve their methods, agricultural production lagged.

During the period immediately following the Soviet accession to power, estimates of revenue and expenditures were prepared. The ruble, however, raced the German mark down the toboggan-slide and hence these estimates were meaningless. By 1921, the revenues, in terms of the depressed ruble, had risen to four and one-seventh trillion rubles and the expenditures to twenty-four and a half trillion. In 1921 the collection of taxes in money was discontinued and estimates were not even passed by the Government.

In 1921 the N.E.P. (New Economic Policy) was inaugurated. In 1922 the second fiscal period began. There was

a complete revision of the tax system. Excises were imposed on alcoholic beverages, tobacco, salt, sugar, and other products. Several other taxes were introduced in addition to the tax in kind. Of the new taxes, five were direct, thirteen were indirect, and seven were duties of various sorts. This system was found to be too complicated and a simplification was attempted the following year. Consolidations resulted in the establishment of a single property tax and a single agricultural tax for the villages.

Although more than half the taxes were collected in kind, the period from 1922 to 1926 was marked by a series of budgetary deficits. Ruble notes were issued to meet these deficits—an expedient originating in, and developed by, capitalistic countries. These issues were limited to fifteen million rubles a month, calculated at the rate of the chervonets (bank notes, obligations of the *Gosbank, i.e.*, state central bank, having a theoretical value of ten rubles) on the first of each month In 1923, however, conditions improved; crops were better, the supply from domestic gold mines increased, and extreme economy in imports resulted in a favorable trade balance.

The third period began with fiscal year 1925-26 when a stable budget for the whole U.S.S.R. was prepared. The pre-revolutionary plan of taxation, with some important modifications, prevailed. The agricultural tax, which was progressive, was subjected to revision and some measure of reduction. The policy of the Government, as stated in *Soviet Policy in Public Finance* by Gregory Y. Sokolnikov and associates, was to seek the active political support of the poorer peasants, who had been largely exempted from any tax burden, to adopt an attitude of more or less benevolent neutrality toward the middle class, which constituted a majority of the agriculturalists, and to wage relentless war, fiscal and otherwise, against the kulaks (well-to-do peasants), whose numbers had materially increased since 1920. The agricultural tax became, in effect, a faculty tax—that is, one based upon ability to pay. This is of respectable antiquity; it obtained in the New England colonies three centuries ago. A surtax might also be levied; and in order to reach with "greater certitude the households of labor-exploiting and money-lending kulaks," a method of "individual taxation" was introduced.

There resulted from this policy numerous instances of evasion on the part of the well-to-do. Land was not listed and cattle were concealed when the assessment was made—a practice also of respectable antiquity. It has been estimated that the sowed area listed for the agricultural tax was about fifteen million desiatins (the desiatin is approximately two and three-quarter acres) short of the actual area. Horses and cattle reported were from 7 million to 8 million less than those actually on hoof. Of the four billion in non-agricultural earnings of the peasantry, only about three hundred million were reached by the tax collector.

The income tax was first designated an income-property tax. Later the property feature was eliminated. The primary purpose of the tax seems to have been social rather than fiscal. It was intended to regulate the accumulation of private capital in the cities, as was the agricultural tax in the country districts. Private capital has never entirely disappeared from the Soviet State. At no time has the amount been large, yet in 1927, 18% of the gross production of the Union was derived from private industry. Small enterprises and peasant household craft accounted for most of this production.

The income-tax law recognized

three classes of taxpayers. The workers and employees—the true proletariat—received the most favorable treatment. Those living on the receipts of unearned income were taxed the most heavily. A discrimination in favor of earned income is found in several of the American income tax statutes as well as in those of other countries. Death and gift taxes were also imposed at highly progressive rates. In most countries the rates would have been confiscatory. Owing, however, to the general socialization of wealth in Russia, receipts from these sources were not large. Then there was a license tax on the exercise of various trades and professions, a tax which for centuries has had its counterpart in capitalistic countries.

But those taxes which the Soviets themselves denominated excises, produced the largest portion of the revenue. In the period from 1922 to 1928 receipts from these sources increased 1,300%. The most spectacular advance occurred in connection with alcoholic beverages. Up to 1921 the Soviet Union was classed as a dry country. Lenin had opposed the use of alcohol, but even Lenin could not root out an age-old habit. The experiment with prohibition in Russia duplicated the experience of the United States. Bootlegging flourished; household distilleries were prolific in their output. Even in the worst years of the famine, enormous quantities of grain were consumed in the production of "samogon," a beverage manufactured by peasants and reported to bear a close resemblance to the "white mule" of the southern mountain districts of the United States. Even with repeal of prohibition, it proved impossible to entirely suppress the trade in illicit liquor, due in part to the excessive tax on vodka. Nevertheless for the year 1927-28, more than half the revenue from excises was attributable to alcoholic beverages.

Owing to the socialization of wealth and commerce, the major portion of the profit from manufacturing and other industries, and from foreign and domestic trade, pass through the budget. The control which the Government exercises over foreign trade creates a peculiar condition in regard to the customs. Customs perform a dual function. The raising of revenue is frequently regarded as of secondary consequence. The more important of these functions is to regulate the inflow of foreign goods. In the Soviet Union there is a comprehensive fixed plan of imports and exports under which the quantity of commodities to be purchased abroad is fixed in advance. Thus the protective function of the customs is rendered almost unnecessary. The quantity of commodities purchased abroad has varied from year to year. An irregular increase up to 1931 is observed (more than 1,100,000,000 gold rubles in that year). In 1935 the Commissar of Foreign Trade noted, however, that "from 1932 on, our imports began to show a marked and systematic decline," owing to considerable success in the development of heavy industry under the first Five Year Plan.

The fourth fiscal period began with the year 1931. Another new system of taxation designed to obtain greater revenue in order to aid the national industrial development was introduced. The authorities had decided some six years before, since voluntary savings appeared inadequate, to restore the practice of financing industrial development out of budget revenue. Hence, a progressively increasing proportion of national income passed through the budget. This progression appears in detail in table on page 87.

The abrupt increase in budget reve-

Period	National Income	Budget Revenue	Percent Income
	(in million rubles)		
1913	13,896	2,849	20.6
1925-26	21,230	4,215	19.6
1927-28	25,342	6,836	26 9
1929-30	33,963	12,986	38 2
1931	37,800	23,155	61.3
1932	45,100	31,031	68 8
1933	51,000	39,200	77 0
1934	55,600	49,726	89.0

(Table adapted from *Banking and Credit in the Soviet Union*, London. 1935)

nues which occurred in 1931 is noteworthy and was due largely to the change in the fiscal system. This change, as above indicated, became essential in order to accelerate the momentum of the first Five Year Plan. The outstanding purpose of the Government has been, as evidenced by the foregoing table, to bring as large a proportion as possible of the national income within the scope of the budget.

The old imposts (fifty to seventy-five in number) were in great measure abandoned. Their place was taken by two classes of taxes: three on the "socialized" sector, *i.e.*, enterprises, corporations, etc.; and three on private persons. Those in the first division are (a) the turnover or sales tax; (b) the tax on profits of state enterprises; and (c) the tax on revenues of cooperatives. These are the most important, and the greatest of them is the sales, or turnover, tax. For 1936, the estimated total of budgetary receipts is seventy-eight and three-quarter billion rubles, and of this sum, sixty-two and two-third billions are attributable to the turnover tax, an amount almost equal to the entire revenue for the preceding year. Differing from the French turnover tax, the Soviet impost in most instances is not pyramided; its burden is imposed on the price only once. The incidence of the tax is on the ultimate consumer—that is, the price of the commodity is increased by the amount of the tax thereon. The tax is not uniform; vodka, cigarettes, and kerosene top the list with an impost of approximately 90%. At the other end of the scale are leather goods, and timber and wood products. Here the tax is only 1%. Even in the case of the same commodity, the rate may vary. Thus, first-quality toilet soap is listed at 69%, while the second quality has a rate of 72%. Another point of departure from the conventional tax program exists in the frequent failure to impose the lightest burden on necessities and to adopt a higher rate for luxuries. A close relationship exists between taxation and price regulation. This may in part explain the wide variation in rates.

It may appear anomalous for an allegedly communistic state to adopt as its chief source of revenue what is generally regarded by economists as a highly regressive tax. However, as explained hereafter, the chief purpose of the Government has been to minimize the ability of the population to purchase consumer goods, and the sales tax has proved an effective aid toward the attainment of this end.

Taxes imposed on private persons are, for obvious reasons, minor factors in the whole scheme of public finance. These taxes are: the personal income tax, a business tax upon private enterprises and professions, and a number of dues, licenses, and other charges merged into a single tax. In addition, all peasants, both the members of the collective farms and those working

their own lands, pay a single tax, which is, in effect, a continuation of the agricultural tax.

The great industrial development of the country since the inauguration of the first Five Year Plan has been made possible only by compulsory national saving much in excess of anything which might have been accomplished by voluntary effort on the part of the people, and also in excess of the degree of sacrifice attained in any occidental country in time of peace. Fiscal aid from foreign sources usually has been unobtainable. All surplus earnings of the people have been appropriated by the Government. These are generally regarded as forced loans, although any compulsion is disclaimed by the State. At the beginning of 1934, the amount of outstanding internal indebtedness was about thirteen billion rubles, and the number of bondholders exceeded forty-five million persons. The resources of the savings banks are also at the disposal of the Government. There are about nineteen million depositors, but the average deposit is small. Here it must be recalled that there is practically no medium for private investment of funds in Russia and that the savings banks alone accept deposits from private individuals. They also perform all technical operations in connection with the servicing of loans. The money so taken, however, has not actually added to the purchasing power of the State, since the State owns all natural resources and controls all means of production and distribution. While payments have to be made to the workers, their real remuneration consists of food and other consumer goods, housing, etc., all provided by the State. The actual benefit derived by it, then, is that it is relieved of the necessity of providing consumer goods or services equal to that amount during the currency of the loan or the term of the deposit.

Russia has deified the National Economy. To it, the Soviet State has made sacrifice. As early as 1922, Lenin, in his report to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, noted that every reduction which is effected in the demand for consumer goods releases an increased amount of capital and labor for the purposes of heavy industry.

The failure of industry to develop with sufficient rapidity resulted in the inauguration of the Five Year Plan. Shortly after its adoption, the whole scheme of taxation was changed in order to produce greater revenues. Two-thirds of the revenue is devoted to the financing of the national economy. The table printed below shows how the State has spent its money:

	1931	1932	1933 (in million rubles)	1934	1935	1936 Estimates
National Economy	15,177	23,301	25,159	27,952	35,104*	37,584*
Social & Cultural	3,518	4,768	6,123	8,499	4,783*	6,390*
State Loans	408	962	1,273	1.792	1,815	.....
Defense	1,288	1,296	1,421	5,000	6,500	14,815
Administration	.	. .	.	.	688	887
Grants to Autonomous Budgets	. .	....	....	4,883	8,850	12,456
Total Budget	22,118	33,054	42,774	49,762	65,702	78,715

*Union budget only, excluding republican and local budgets.

The budgetary appropriations for social and cultural purposes, which include education, appear not to have increased as rapidly as some other items of expenditure. Nevertheless, in a report to the Third Moscow Regional Congress in 1935, it was stated that as a result of the "growing prosperity" there has been a vast improvement in cultural development and that illiteracy has been almost eliminated. This is due to large non-budgetary disbursements. The budgetary and non-budgetary expenditures on social and cultural measures in that year amounted to more than eighteen and two-thirds billion rubles, of which sum more than half was devoted to public education and more than one-quarter to public health. It is noteworthy, however, that a fee is charged for admission to opera, museums, and the zoo, while capitalistic countries, since the days of cultured Greece and imperial Rome, have provided free entertainment for the people.

The greatest proportionate budgetary increase has been in military appropriations. In 1935, the budgetary grant amounted to six and a half billion rubles, although the actual expenditure reached eight billions. For 1936 the latter figure has been almost doubled. Russia, having attained industrial success, follows in the footsteps of capitalistic countries in the matter of military expenditures.

Under a decree effective April 1, 1936, the aid granted to several branches of heavy industry has been in part withdrawn; and the turnover tax is to be reduced to prevent a rise in prices.

In 1935 the Commissar of Finance reported: "The legislation passed on the income tax, and the levy for cultural needs and housing shows that taxation of the toilers in town and country, far from increasing, is to a certain extent decreasing.

"It need hardly be said that no relaxation of our class taxation policy with regard to the remnants of capitalist elements in town and country, particularly with regard to the kulaks, must be permitted."

American Business Views the Soviet

I AM gratified to report that Soviet purchases in the United States during 1935 amounted to something slightly over $42,000,000 as against $14,000,000 in 1934. This represents an increase of almost 200% in the orders placed in 1935 over those of 1934. During 1935 American cotton was purchased to the value of somewhat in excess of $8,000,000; the remaining $34,000,000 was for industrial equipment of all sorts and raw and semi-manufactured materials.

Moscow officials hold that this increase was quite largely a result of the exchange of notes between Ambassador Bullitt and Commissar for Foreign Affairs M. Litvinoff which took place on July 13, last year. In this exchange the Soviet Government gave assurances that it intended to purchase in the United States during the following twelve months, that is the period between July 13, 1935 and July 12, 1936, goods to the value of $30,000,000.

From July to December last year the Soviet Government placed orders totaling about $26,500,000, which represented a gain of 70% over the first six months of 1935. This left under the treaty only about $3,500,000 for the USSR to purchase during the first six months of 1936 in order to fulfill its treaty obligations and, although the official figures have not yet been published, I can inform you that the purchases have exceeded this sum since the first of the year and that the obligations contained in the agreement have now been more than met three months prior to the stipulated time. * * *

Sixty-nine firms received orders from the Amtorg in 1935 in amounts in excess of $100,000. In all, 900 firms sold their products to the Soviet Union in 1935. There is every indication that American-Soviet trade will expand rather than diminish. * * *

Address by Reeve Schley president of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, at the luncheon of the chamber April 22, 1936, at The Bankers Club, New York City.

Eliminating The Unfit

THE problem of eliminating defective individuals would be simplified were we dealing with lower animals rather than man. In the human species the problem is not so simple. One cannot reduce human mating to the method of the breeding pen, but the essential principles are not substantially different. Preventing undesirables from reproducing, and continuing this process generation after generation, leads to the elimination of a considerable number of such defectives from the population, with the result that the perpetuation of the race is left to those individuals that seem to possess vigorous normal traits. The race in general gradually approaches a more normal pattern. Preventing the unfit from being numbered among the parents of the next generation would provide that generation with better parents than it would have had otherwise. To a corresponding degree, also, the potentialities of this generation for producing normal and desirable types would be increased, and at the same time its capacity for producing abnormal and undesirable types would be decreased.

Clarence G. Campbell, President of the Eugenics Research Association, has divided the human family into three groups—the best stock, the good stock, and the bad stock. According to Campbell, the best and the bad stock each constitute about one tenth of the population, leaving approximately eight tenths of the population in the good stock. In the best stock are numbered those individuals with superior qualities who are recognized as leaders in society. These are the individuals whose endowments are such that they not only control their own environment, but also control and direct that of others. The good stock consists of the element in the population who are law-abiding and normal citizens, performing their social and economic tasks not alone for their well-being but also for the benefit of civilization. From this group superior individuals often originate, thus adding to the superior stock. The bad stock comprises the so-called dysgenic group, those with defective qualities that make for the degeneration of society. Herein are included the feeble-minded, the insane, the paupers, the confirmed criminals, and the grave sex offenders. This group, in general, is a tremendous burden on society. Genetic evidence has been accumulating to reveal that most of these defects are due to heredity. Social workers also have discovered that from this stock the largest percentage of the dependent individuals originate. Geneticists and social workers, therefore, believe that nothing but good can come from planned scientific efforts in the direction of the rapid elimination of these defects.

From an article in the *Calcutta Review* for June 1936,
by Dr. R. C. Biswas, M.S., Ph.D.

STERILIZATION—a pointedly frank discussion of a grave social problem—by J. H. LANDMAN, Ph.D., J.D., J.S.D.

OF THE 125,000,000 people in the United States, as many as 25,000,000 are socially maladjusted or unadjusted. Not all these unfortunates have inherited their condition. Many are socially desirable people; others are not. Some are of superior inheritance; others are so inferior that they are not worthy of being incorporated in our national stock.

These various groups include dependents, such as the unemployed, the unemployable, the deaf, the deformed, and the blind; the delinquents, such as the wayward and the criminal; the mentally deficient, the degenerates, and the infectious. Which of these classes of people should be considered for sterilization? Which of them have inherited their condition? Which have acquired their insufficiencies?

The situation presents the United States with a grave population problem. Some eugenicists point out with alarm that these maladjusted and unadjusted people multiply more rapidly than normal human beings, and that our civilization is doomed to perdition. They contend also that these unfortunates are not competent to rear the future citizens of our country.

Optimistic eugenicists dispute these opinions. They declare that more complete and precise statistical records would show that the number of social misfits is not actually increasing more rapidly than that of the socially adjusted. They hold also that some of the socially misfit, such as many of the unemployed, are of high intellectual heritage, that the iniquities of our social order have rendered many of the present misfits socially inadequate, and that, with a fundamental social change, most of these people will find an appropriate social and economic place for themselves.

Undoubtedly, environment and inheritance play important röles in the development of the human personality. But environmentalists and hereditists, particularly the latter, are guilty of making exaggerated claims for their cause. Eugenics is an infant science. As yet it has contributed little in the way of scientifically established fact. Many propagandists have prostituted this meager information to defend race superiority, ancestor worship, snobbery, class distinction, and intellectual aristocracy. More sound biologic knowledge for such a drastic program as compulsory human sterilization is still wanting, and much of our existing biologic knowledge needs correcting. It is not true that celebrated individuals necessarily beget celebrated offspring. It is not true that the Jukes and the Kallikaks beget only criminal children. It is not true that the Edwards family begets only superior children. It is not true that a mental trait, like high intelligence or idiocy, is transmissible in accordance with the Mendelian theory. It is questionable whether there are more children in the families

in which both parents are idiots or feeble-minded than those in which both parents are mentally normal. The future of eugenics is promising, but it needs more research and less propaganda. At least, we should be certain of the hereditability of the ailment of persons who are about to be sterilized.

What is Sterilization?

Human sterilization should not be confused with castration. Men who have been castrated develop obesity, grayness of the hair, falling out of the beard-hairs, changes in the skin, involution of the genital organs, and other characteristics. Similar conditions are manifest in castrated women. But such fundamental physiological disturbances are not to be found in sterilized people. In man, the sterilization process is the cutting and tying of the two seminal ducts so that the sperm cannot be ejaculated to impregnate the woman. So little pain or mental shock accompanies this operation that a local anaesthetic is all that is necessary. One or two days in bed, with two or three days in the surgical ward, is the length of the confinement required. Most patients convalesce so rapidly that they can engage directly in light work and soon after resume their normal lives. In woman, the process involves an abdominal incision and the cutting and tying of the oviducts, thus preventing the ovum, or egg, from entering the womb. Hospitalization for two weeks and convalescence for a number of months render this operation a more serious undertaking than the one for the man. Gynecologists have busied themselves perfecting a technique of sterilizing women which would be less painful and serious. Dr. R. L. Dickinson has tried coagulating the ends of the oviducts with an electric current, where they empty into the womb, by a process requiring an approach through the vagina. The difficulty lies in the fact that the surgeon is obliged to manipulate very much in the dark. Doctor Dickinson uses the Roentgen shadow and the sounding of the womb to direct him, while Drs. M. N. Hyams and F. E. Hoffman use the fluoroscope.

These operations, when successful, permanently sterilize the patient. Of late, considerable attention has been attracted to a process of establishing immunity to pregnancy by injections of testicular fluid into the blood stream of the female. The experiments on guinea pigs and rabbits have been very successful. And Dr. M. Baskin of Denver, Colorado, has already proven his ability to immunize women temporarily by injecting into their blood the male semen. What remains unsolved is the determination of the quantity of the semen to be injected in relation to the length of time for which immunity is desired. Were this perfected, a man or woman could be easily rendered sterile for a limited period of time with only the little pain that attends the injection of a hypodermic needle. These experiments are very promising and may have much in store for mankind.

Effects

Studies that have been made of the men and women who have been sterilized show that these operations have not made a noticeable change in their sexual lives, other than preventing them from ever becoming parents. In some cases the sexual activity and enjoyment were actually increased, though in a few others they were decreased. The physical and mental health of the patients was not disturbed. In a few instances, their health was improved. The ability to control the duration of sexual intercourse was in most cases influenced

neither favorably nor unfavorably. The frequency of coitus was increased as compared with the habits of the sterilized people before the operation.

There seems to be no evidence that sterilization causes irregularity in menstruation. On the contrary, menstruation is likely to be more regular and less painful. In the vast majority of cases, the wives of sterilized men declared that the operation rendered their marriages no less happy. Two thirds of the marriages studied, in which one of the spouses was sterilized, were judged successful, while one third were regarded as failures. Sterilization is not held particularly responsible for this situation, since the same proportion of failures, if not more, would have existed among normal people.

What are some other effects? Normal people, who submit to voluntary sterilization for contraceptive, eugenic, economic, or therapeutic reasons, were originally participating citizens in society. Their case histories show that they resumed their positions without suffering any radically bad social or psychological effects. But what about abnormal people, particularly those who are inmates of our public institutions? When sterilized, they experience little mental or physical improvement, and this presents a major aspect of the problem: Unless the sterilized in public institutions can be restored to society, so as to relieve the State of the burden of maintaining them, a primary reason for sterilizing such individuals is destroyed. Why sterilize them and keep them institutionalized at the same time? A study made in California, where more than half of the sterilization operations in the United States were performed, shows that as many as 67% of the insane males and 79% of the insane females were still confined in institutions two years after the operations. In another California study, it was discovered that 34% of the feeble-minded women were still institutionalized, although sterilized for some time.

When the paroled patient who has been sterilized is considered, we find that his success or failure bears little relationship to age, intelligence, economic status, family history, or length of the parole period. Many psychologists are of the opinion that sterilization has no mental or physical therapeutic value. They believe that the success of the paroled sterilized insane or feeble-minded patient is due to the training in behavior and in a trade that he or she received in the institution, rather than because of the surgery.

Legislation

The American program of human sterilization has been criticized severely from the standpoint of law, religion, and humanitarianism. Yet the United States is not only the pioneer, but also the chief advocate of the movement for human sterilization. In 1907 Indiana passed the first of about seventy sterilization laws which have been enacted in the various States. Today, twenty-eight States permit human sterilization: Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. The States of Nevada, New Jersey, and New York have had laws of this type, but they were declared unconstitutional. The number of sterilizations performed under successful legislation in the United States up to January, 1936, was 23,118, of which more than half were performed on women.

The judicial history of sterilization is interesting. Under a barrage of criticism, legislation has run the gauntlet of the higher courts of the States. On eight different occasions, the respective State human sterilization laws were declared unconstitutional because they violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. It was held that they denied "due process of law," and/or "equal protection of the laws" to all classes of people. Again, they were ruled out because the surgical operation was considered a "cruel and unusual punishment" and therefore a violation of the State constitution in question.

In nine instances the constitutionality of the acts was upheld. Especially has this been true since the eventful *Buck vs. Bell* case (1927 47 Supt. Ct. Rep. 584) in the United States Supreme Court. The court held unequivocally that the Virginia law, authorizing the sterilization of mental defectives and others, under careful safeguards, is not void under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, since Carrie Buck was given an adequate trial and she was not discriminated against arbitrarily as compared with similar hereditary idiots at large. By virtue of this Federal Supreme Court decision, many new human sterilization laws were enacted, and the Kansas and Idaho Supreme Courts upheld the legality of their respective State laws.

An analysis of our State laws reveals that of the various socially inadequate classes that are subject to sterilization, the mentally deficient, the idiots, the insane, the epileptics, and the imbeciles are most frequently included. These represent the infirmities which present the greatest weight of scientific evidence of inheritability. On the other hand, under a few State laws, prostitutes, persons convicted of at least two crimes, drug addicts, and sodomists are subject to sterilization. There is little scientific evidence that such people have inherited their maladies, though it might well be argued that they are unfit to rear children.

The execution of our human sterilization law reveals a gross inconsistency with scientific fact. About twice as many operations have been performed on the mentally diseased as on the feeble-minded. Yet eugenicists would agree that feeble-mindedness is more conclusively hereditary than mental disease. If we are intent on eradicating the undesirable from our midst, the number of operations on the feeble-minded should have been the greater.

Our human sterilization laws are compulsory, voluntary, or both. All the laws in force today contain a compulsory provision with the exception of those of Minnesota and Vermont. In effect, they are all voluntary because the State always required the written consent of the patient, and his or her nearest relatives. Since both the patients and their relatives are often mentally incompetent, it is well that the laws are compulsory in the interest of advancing the quality of our national stock. Of course, the interests of the patients are always adequately guarded since only properly qualified specialists recommend and determine whether the sterilization operation is advisable. Furthermore, all our laws provide for an appeal to a higher court for reconsideration of the recommendation.

It is surprising that so many of our sterilization laws apply to persons in institutions. There is no reason, as we have seen, for the sterilization of people in custody unless they can be released or paroled. Only California, South Dakota, Oklahoma, West Virginia and Maine have statutes which provide for the sterilization of inmates about to be paroled or discharged.

After all, the real risk to society comes from hereditarily dangerous people who are at liberty. They may become the parents of undesirable children. Yet at present only the states of Delaware, Idaho, Iowa, Michigan, North Carolina, Oregon, South Dakota, and Vermont have laws which apply to certain classes of people in institutions or at large. The matter of bringing undesirable people to the attention of the authorities raises difficulties, but not insurmountable problems. In Nebraska, the registration of all feeble-minded persons at large is required by law. In Germany, agencies have been created throughout the country to bring all mentally subnormal people before appropriate administrative boards for a determination as to the advisability of having them sterilized.

Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Germany, and the Free City of Danzig have followed the example of the United States and are active proponents of human sterilization. The Canton of Vaud, Switzerland, the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia in Canada, and the State of Vera Cruz, Mexico, are recent recruits to this cause. The German experiment has of late caused considerable interest and comment. Since January 1934, the Nazi Government has sterilized about 70,000 persons and plans to sterilize 350,000 more, with a view to improving the quality of the future population by exterminating inherited disease.

❖ ❖ ❖

It seems clear that neither the claims of sterilization's staunch advocates or those of its opponents are altogether scientifically sound. It cannot be denied that human sterilization would tend to reduce the number of hereditarily undesirable persons, thus removing a burden from society, and from many individuals who care for them, by preventing the birth of children whose parents are unfit to rear them and, in many cases, do not want them. The opponents of human sterilization, in behalf of human liberty, religion, and morality, must consider the claims of society and the rights of children who might be born into misery which neither science nor social measures could rectify. If we are to adopt human sterilization as a national policy, we must have regard for our scientific ignorance of eugenics and for the possibilities of such legislation on the individuals involved and on our present and future society.



HOMES IN THE MAKING: One of the multiple houses under construction in Greenbelt.

"TUGWELLTOWN"

—which, of course, is the story of Greenbelt, the Government's new socialized community — a daring experiment, impartially described

BY DUNCAN AIKMAN

ITS official name will be *Greenbelt,* and several million Americans have already heard of it by its nickname—"Tugwelltown." But if Marylanders and suburbanites of the District of Columbia went in for classical allusions, it might, with a certain degree of realistic plausibility, have been christened *Atlantis-on-the-Hill.* A little over three hundred years ago when Sir Francis Bacon was planning a community of ideal sociological coordinations and cooperative services, he felt it was necessary to locate it on a mythical continent, but the United States Government of the 1930s has much more confidence in the concrete. Therefore, with a distinct ambition, or perhaps curiosity, to see how far normal life in an American small suburb can be pushed toward ideal social coordinations, it is building "Tugwelltown"—or Greenbelt—on a low mound of partially exhausted farmland within twelve miles of the national capital.

The Resettlement Administration at Washington, which is mother, father, and banker for Greenbelt, is anxious to see its 3,500-odd future residents develop a type of community living and social relationships which is pleasantly superior to the haphazard average of the American small town. But the RA planners, in arranging the civic future, are not taking the position that they are entitled to prescribe a permanent standard of perfect communal behavior. More or less necessarily, there will be rules as to who shall become a resident of Greenbelt, when and for what reasons he must leave it, how the town shall be governed, its community services, and organization of its recreational and social activities. Most of these factors, if not all, will be subject to change as—and if—they fail to develop satisfactorily, or as the residents of the town, in view of their experience, see fit to dictate. In other words, the Resettlement Administration is more concerned about the type of regulation that will create the ideal conditions of American suburban life than it is convinced of knowing the answer in advance. Therefore, while there will unquestionably be more regimentation than there is in average American communities of 3,500, it will be flavored at all times with the tastes and consent of the regimented.

But just now Greenbelt is merely being built. In the chrysalis stage it looks a good deal like any other cunningly landscaped subdivision being rushed through the raw-boards stage for the impatient customers, except that the scope of the work is perhaps somewhat more comprehensive. Greenbelt is being built in a block, whereas the average subdivision is located a little on the far edges and a little in the middle, while the rest of the lots

lie vacant and the rest of the construction lies neglected for the customers' rush to develop.

Work operations today swarm all over Greenbelt. Houses, to be sure, are not being erected on a synchronized schedule; only 500 of them have reached the completed foundations and preliminary framework stage, and only about 200 are far enough along to call for attention from the inner partition carpenters. But where foundations are still lacking, steam-shovels are tearing away at the surface excavations, and where the ground is not yet ripe for this treatment, it is being prepared for landscape and street-cutting operations with the greatest possible speed.

❖ ❖ ❖

This summer will mark the peak in Greenbelt construction, and from now until cool weather, some member of the construction force of 2,400 relief workers and 1,100 skilled workers will be busy on one plot or another of Greenbelt ground for practically every working-day minute. In the final stages, when all the ground-preparing operations are out of the way, there will be a quick concentration on actual house-building. Greenbelt's thousand homes, with appropriate business and recreation section appurtenances, are expected to be ready for community house-warming ceremonies on November 30, 1936, thirteen and a half months after the first earth was spaded.

Enough of the work already has been completed to afford a fairly concrete idea of Greenbelt's outlines. With a slight horseshoe contour of its streets, the town spreads over 200 acres of rising ground on the verge of a 22-acre artificial lake. Eventually, if the experiment continues to be effective and all the land available for settlement is taken up, the homes will completely surround the lake, and a small city will come into being, numbering 25,000 residents.

Greenbelt would rank as an "original" in American suburbs if only because her streets have been cut to a minimum. When the first plans were drawn on a conventional subdivision program, it was estimated that, to give the finished small city of 25,000 adequate local transit, 66 miles of roadway would be required. Now Greenbelt will start on its thousand-family basis with barely six.

The problem of street reduction, and incidentally of paving and maintenance cost reductions, has been solved by arranging Greenbelt's houses in parks. The idea that the American home is not a home unless it has direct street frontage is decidedly a myth, according to Greenbelt's final planners. So the Greenbelt houses, mainly in little, detached rows of eight, are springing up in the center of what will soon be richly sodded, tree-planted lawns—this, when the landscape architects are through.

Around these residential parks run adequately paved highways so that no doorway will be more than a stone's throw from the huckster's truck or the family car parked at the curb. But the houses themselves have an air of gracious retirement, heretofore cultivated chiefly by estate-owners, and a quantity of sun, air, and open space far beyond that afforded the average suburban house which faces the street. Finally, in the center of each park, a neighborhood playground is conveniently located so that Greenbelt youngsters will not have to search for vacant lots for their scrub baseball and football activities. For the adult population, as well as for children, larger and more formal recreation grounds, with courts and playing fields for all the standard outdoor sports, are being graded on the town's outskirts, and

all are within short walking distance of the farthest homesites.

The crux of the Resettlement Administration's civic development project in Greenbelt lies in the fact that the town is being built as a refuge for modest income groups from high urban rental values. Greenbelt itself will cost approximately $7,000,000 — a fairly moderate outlay for a town of 1,000 houses, with adequate shopping district, civic service, and recreational facilities. The average cost per house, according to estimates of the RA calculators, will be under $4,000, and each house will rent for between $20 and $30 monthly. In other words, Greenbelt is being built for District of Columbia families which, if they tried to live in Washington's congested area, would have to take either a slum tenement or a one-room-and-kitchenette flat, and which, in the more spacious residential districts, could find no accommodations at all within their purse limits.

Thus Greenbelt is being surrounded with a wall of official regulations both to protect its tenants from exploitation and to protect their low-rent opportunity. If you happen to earn $10,000 a year and think it would be a pleasant idea to save money for your stamp collecting or horse-race losses by moving to a comfortable $300-a-year rental neighborhood, you will have to find your model low-cost homestead somewhere outside of Greenbelt. Definite limitations have not yet been set on eligible income amounts for the prospective Greenbeltian, but there will be bounds and they will be definite. It is safe to say that no family will be allowed to lease a Greenbelt house if that family's income is greater than $2,000. At the other end of the scale, settlement will not be encouraged by families for which even the modest Greenbelt rents bulk larger than a fourth of the monthly income. Probably the low limit will be around $1,100, although limitations at both ends may be slightly "stretchable" because of special family circumstances; that is, a seven-child family with an income of little more than $2,000 might be admitted where a childless household with the same income might be excluded.

Furthermore, income limitations are expected to hold even after one has settled down as a "permanent" resident. Greenbelt, in fact, will perhaps be the only community in capitalistic civilization from which one can be ejected for making too much money. If your boss rewards your merit some Christmas by doubling your salary, or if your rich uncle dies and leaves you his profitable coupon-clipping business, there are just two things you can do about it. You can turn your extra gains into the town treasury, or leave Greenbelt to make room for the next "modest income group" family knocking on the eligibility list.

No penalties are being considered against residents who are lucky enough to win an Irish Sweepstakes pot or thousand-to-one freak election bet; on the other hand, sad situations in which incomes slip below the Greenbelt minimum or disappear entirely will be judged on their individual merits when the time comes. Under these circumstances, the question of whether or not you continue to reside in Greenbelt will probably depend, as in other subdivisions, on how impressively you can talk up to the landlord. In general, however, the town will be founded on a basis of almost complete economic homogeneity and will do all that it can to adhere to its rules and regulations.

Greenbelt is to be a "normal" American settlement, even if its normalcy should happen to be protected by further restrictions on the origins of its

citizenry. Furthermore, since the town is being built specifically for Washingtonians, the population balances of Washington will be accepted, as it were, as the "norm of normalcy." Presbyterians, for example, will be admitted as Greenbelt residents only in the same proportion they bear to the total Washington population unless, of course, the Catholics and the Methodists should fail to take advantage of their quota, in which case more room might be found for a determined Presbyterian influx.

The same yardstick will apply to the trades and professions—to beauticians and professors of philosophy; to carpenters and chiropractors. For that matter, it also holds in the matter of age groups. Greenbelt will not, if the RA continues to keep its finger on the population feed valve, become any idyllic haven for aged and retired government pensioners. People over seventy years of age will be admitted substantially in the same ratio that they bear to the Washington census count.

An insistence upon "normal" civic needs will show also in the regulations for private business enterprises. Although the Greenbeltians unquestionably would find Resettlement Administration officials responsive to the idea of founding all the local stores and shops on a cooperative basis, the likelihood at present is that business space will be leased to suburban entrepreneurs on a percentage-of-profit basis. But the community will still retain a tight regulatory hand over irresponsible initiative. Gasoline filling stations, drug stores, grocery stores, laundries, dental offices, and mortuaries will be allowed to locate in Greenbelt only with the permission of the town council. In other words, if the commerce department indicates that two drug stores and two laundries are needed to serve 3,500 people, that many will be licensed, and no more. No competition will be allowed until it has been proved reasonably desirable and likely to be profitable.

Religious competition alone is fairly free from these restrictions. Church sites have been generously allotted in Greenbelt, though no specific church-building operations are yet under way. Although the community, with the RA as stakeholder, will own the consecrated ground, there will be no limit on how many sects build, or how they build, except for fire and safety regulations.

Apart from a mildly synthetic charter and by-laws bequeathed to them by their Federal emergency agency sponsors, there will be nothing unusual about the Greenbeltians' political status. They will rank as voters and, to the extent of their personal property, as taxpayers of Maryland. They can become as enthusiastic about Congressional, legislative and Maryland country elections as they please. Greenbelt itself will be governed under a council-manager plan, not essentially different from similar charter arrangements now in effect in hundreds of small incorporated communities from Oregon to Georgia. The first five councilmen will be hand-picked by the Resettlement Administration, but as their terms expire in rotation, they will be succeeded by councilmen chosen on a strictly elective basis.

However, there will be one peculiarity—not wholly unprecedented—about Greenbelt's local elections. The town will be governed in its legal status as a corporation, rather than as a municipality. The councilmen's legal authority will be derived essentially from their status as directors. Each tenant, therefore, will cast his vote as a corporation stockholder, rather than as a citizen, and each family will vote as a unit. It will not, as advocates of the

Greenbelt political structure see it, make much difference. Small-town family households generally vote as units in local elections everywhere. Woman suffrage will be temporarily abandoned except where women happen to be the leaseholders.

So, in spite of the few synthetic qualities on the surface, none of the enthusiasts for Greenbelt expects life to be much different there from what it is in the majority of American communities where the "modest income group" predominates. As elective councils gradually take hold and the tenants of Greenbelt gradually pay back the initial town building cost to the Government — at rental rates of some $400,000 yearly, not including business rents—even the present regulating authority of the RA will in time be withdrawn and the citizens will find themselves increasingly charged with responsibility for their own rules and regulations. In fact, the chief anticipated difference is that there will be in Greenbelt more civic convenience for less money.

Greenbeltians will live in their comfortable and weather-tight houses, within easy walking distance of practically all known human pleasures—except of the strictly metropolitan variety—cooled by the country wind in summer and warmed by their central, oil-heating plants tended by "community janitors" in winter. If they miss anything, it will be the opportunity, which contrasts between the fairly rich and the very poor afford two classes in most American communities, to entertain captious and sometimes rather exciting suspicions and opinions of each other. For these phases of civil emotionalism, however, Greenbelt folk will have to look to Roy S. Braden, whom the Resettlement Administration is importing from Arlington, Virginia, as Town Manager. He will receive $6,500 a year and will inherit, as some skeptics of the Greenbelt brand of enforced "normalcy" have intimated, a considerable spot.

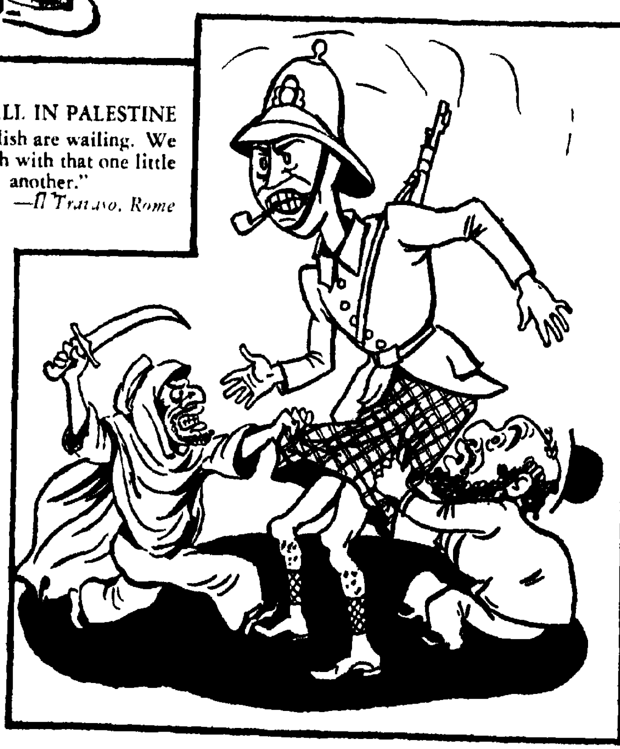
All around Greenbelt stretches the natural adornment which gives it its name—11,000 acres of forest, scrub timber, and meadowland—the "green belt" which will provide every resident the chance to cultivate his own strip of land, and more than that, the assurance that escape into the open country never lies far from his doorstep.

Editor's Note: *The second article in the series begun last month by Resettlement Administrator Rexford Guy Tugwell will appear in an early issue of* CURRENT HISTORY



THE WAILING WALL IN PALESTINE
"Look! Now the English are wailing. We shall never get through with that one little wall. We must build another."

—*Il Travaso, Rome*



IN PALESTINE
Englishman: "If you won't respect my prestige, you might at least leave my kilt alone."

—*Mucha, Warsaw*

A digest of comment quoted or translated from the original—

THEY SAY:

sometimes important . . . often amusing . . . always authentic

IN a pamphlet *Race and World Power*, Johann Ernest Scholz, member of the *Rassenamt* (Racial Office) of Hamburg, writes the following:

"Mackerel which are taken from the sea along the German, Norwegian, and Dutch coasts, and which live in the North Sea, are distinguished from French and Russian mackerel by characteristics which one can remark at the first glance. The Nordic mackerel are larger and fatter, while those which live in the south are smaller and thinner.

"In the neighborhood of Jutland, we have observed a mongrel mackerel (product of the union of Nordic and Baltic-Slav mackerels). The fishermen draw them in only half-heartedly, for this mackerel has a hard flesh. However, one uses it to feed larger fishes as well as the octopuses which we have in our zoological gardens.

"As is evident, the crossing of the different races of mackerel is dangerous for the Nordic mackerel, which may finish by being absorbed by the useless race of Oriental mackerels."

—From *Neue Weltbuehne*, Prague.

❖ ❖ ❖

How Admiral Okada Escaped Death

It was almost miraculous that Admiral Okada escaped death at the hands of the rebels. His brother-in-law was killed in his place and he himself was able to leave his house only through the devotion of his secretary, M. Tagayasu Fukuda. Here is M. Fukuda's story:

"I begged the soldiers who were guarding the door of the Presidency to let me enter. 'To his secretaries the Prime Minister was a real father' I explained, 'and if you have samurai sentiments, you will let me see the remains of my father.' My request was granted.

"I went in with the admiral's son-in-law. At that moment, a policeman approached me and whispered in my ear, 'When you see the corpse, do not be afraid.' I thought he meant that the Prime Minister had been disfigured.

"I went into the chamber and I saw the body on the bed. You will understand my surprise when I saw that it was not Admiral Okada. One of the insurgents asked me, 'Is this really the Prime Minister?' I replied in the affirmative. A portrait of the admiral was thrown on the bed, but as the glass was broken, one could not distinguish the features.

"Two chambermaids came up to me, but they said nothing and only broke into sobs. I went home and thought about a way to save the Admiral.

"When I again got into the death chamber, the guards were not so strict. So I asked one of the servants to point out to me the hiding place of the Prime Minister. Without saying a word, she pushed open a closet door and I saw the Prime Minister. I told him to be patient. Going back home again, I prepared a floral wreath for the bier. The policeman, who had hinted to me that the Prime Minister was still living, had worn a mask like surgeons wear during operations. I went to the Presidency again with a dozen people, carefully selected. I managed to slip into the hands of Admiral Okada some glasses, an overcoat and a mask. Then I went out, accompanied by the Prime Minister. The policeman cried, 'I told you that the spectacle of the dead man would upset you.' Then he called an auto. The sentinels said nothing, thinking that my companion was ill. The auto bore us off, and thus the Admiral was saved."

—*Osaka Mainichi*, Osaka.

Madam Blum

Madam Leon Blum accompanies her "comrade-husband" everywhere. She accompanied him to the meeting at the Velo d'Hiver, followed him up on the platform, lifted her fist in salute as he did, joined her voice to his in the strains of the *Internationale*. And when he saluted the crowd, she did likewise. * * *

Madam Blum only leaves her husband's side when he makes a speech. At such times, she stations herself at the foot of the rostrum, follows his slightest gesture with an attentive eye, weighs every word.

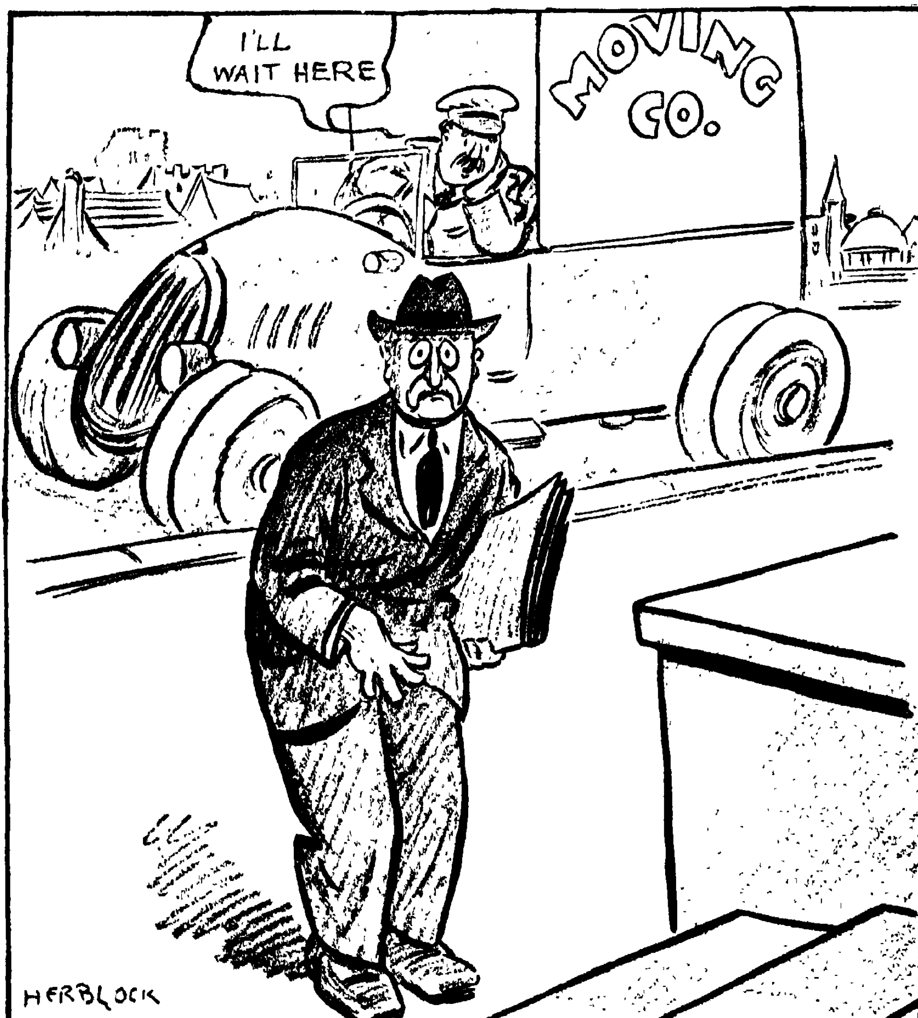
When he leaves the rostrum, and comes down sweating, she wipes his brow, makes him put on his overcoat, gives him a hot drink.

Just like a manager tending his boxer, after a fight.

When he goes to meetings or public rallies, M. Blum uses a little proletarian Citroen.

But Madam Blum is the one who sits at the wheel.

—*Candide*, Paris, June 11, 1936.



THE NEW FRENCH GOVERNMENT MOVES IN

—*NEA Service*

Tolerance in Russia

Among Stalin's new reforms in the shape of a Constitution for Russia, one that pleases the Russian people is that on religion. Although the Soviets sought to destroy religion, it is triumphing in spite of all attacks upon it, and the wonder is that Mr. Stalin recognizes this. Mr. Stalin found his authorization for the change in a speech once made by Lenin, in which the founder of Russian Communism said it was just to consider religion as an idea and personal sentiment that could not be forbidden. From this came Stalin's formula that "religion can only be practiced insofar as it does not interfere with Communism." Thus religion enters a stage of toleration in Russia.

—Nicolas Zvorlkine in *l'Economiste Français, Paris, June 6, 1936.*

Radio Torpedoes

Commandant Tryggve Gran, of the Norwegian Army, has just returned from a military-study tour through Italy, Libya, Egypt, the Sudan, and Abyssinia. In an interview with one of our reporters, he says he has seen, among other things along the Italian and Libyan coasts, airplanes furnished with an apparatus which can direct torpedoes by radio. The radius of action of these airplanes will be 7,000 kilometers. According to Commandant Gran, 600 airplanes of this kind will be ready to go into action at different places along the coasts of Italy and Libya. The invention of this apparatus, certain to play an important rôle in war aviation, is the only one, among the discoveries more or less fantastic attributed to Marconi which is really existent.

—*Tidens Tegn, Oslo.*

THE EUROPEANS HAVE A WORD FOR US

On what is the United States' *RECOVERY* based? Is it a fire of straw or does it come from profound changes in general economic tendencies? Two distinct causes are traceable.

Government spending has produced some activity. The enormous sums obtained by borrowing with such ease are astonishing to us. Yet compared with European countries, America's debt is not large, with the margin remaining comfortable. The policy of Government subsidies can continue as long as the Government can borrow. Another major reason is that the depression has largely spent itself with a resultant process of liquidation. The nation's work implements have not really been renewed. Needs are accumulating that must be met. Is the tide turning?

Action was started by the manna dished out by the President. But this process cannot be sustained any more than an automatic starter can run a car. In the long run, any policy that impairs the nation's credit goes against real recovery. American business men are demanding a return to liberal economics that would create the necessary confidence to defreeze the immense deposits accumulated in banks and now inert. But the mass of public opinion seems won over to a continuation of governmental grants. It is even said to be susceptible to dangerous panaceas like that of Dr. Townsend. The trend one feels everywhere is to restore, by no matter what means, the public purchasing power to absorb a production still likely to become a superproduction.

America is in a race between the convalescence of a body and the many follies and imprudences that it is thought can be committed to bring about its complete cure.

—From a paper read by André Siegfried before the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, Paris, March 15, 1936.

While the victory of the *KANSAS GOVERNOR* is of political interest, it is truly piquant when looked at from the human angle. It certainly is a great triumph for the technique of modern propaganda. We were of the opinion that in order to be elected in the United States to a high post, one must be widely popular. What is popularity? It is not synonymous with exceptional merit or talent, nor necessarily with a great reputation. A popular person is he whose name, for one reason or other, is carried on the lips of the multitude. Popular is the hero Lindbergh, popular is Roosevelt, and popular is Charlie Chaplin. But popular is also a certain reformer-charlatan, an empty demagogue, or an ignorant proprietor of a world-famous trade mark. Generally speaking, popular is he who succeeds to distinguish himself from the hundred millions mass of Browns and Murphies * * *

Hence, in the United States it was a plausible thing several years ago to suggest Henry Ford for the Presidency, nothwithstanding that he couldn't tell the difference between Albania and

Albany, or to regard Father Coughlin, the priest who is broadcasting inflammatory speeches against the wealthy and privileged, as a serious opponent of President Roosevelt.

It now transpires that modesty, silence and utter benightedness, too, are capable of serving as a lever to a great national career. In but two or three weeks, nay, in only a few days, the virtuoso-skill of the electing agencies will create popularity for an anonym, and, what is the more remarkable, it will be done honestly, without charlatanry.

Who is Landon? He is Governor of the agricultural State of Kansas. Beyond the border of that State—and perhaps of a few neighboring States—the public has not had the slightest conception of him. And what does the public know of him now? Very little: Governor Landon loves children, is a man of few words, like Coolidge, and prefers to see life flowing evenly, without interference on the part of external factors, such, for example, as human thought and human will * * *

It is of such qualities that the Landon myth has been created. His supporters took hold of what we might call secondary symptoms of fame and made them the seed of real fame in the picture. Supposedly, we are interested in the desk at which he has labored, in the chair in which he has rested, in his personal photo and that of the house in which he was born. The American has a bright idea that things could be worked the other way round—*from things to man.*

Cleveland, which during those several days assumed the aspect of the capital of Republican America, has been subjected to the uncanniest hypnotism of objects and symbols. It so happens that the State emblem of Kansas has in it the insignia of a sun-flower, so in every buttonhole at the convention a sun-flower was sported * * * It was discovered that Landon is very fond of the war-song *O, Susanne* so the Italian orchestra leader of the hotel where the Landon staff was quartered tells that during those few days he was called upon to play that song no less than 800 times * * * And countless are the photos of the candidate, thousands of them, from his earliest days to the present time, and also photos of his home, his dog, and his nurse. One of the European correspondents even thought that the Cleveland convention was not so much of a political gathering as it was a carnival, and he was not far from the truth. For that happens to be the American taste: boyish pranks perpetrated on very serious occasions * * *

—*Posliednia Novosti* (Russian language paper), Paris, June 13, 1936.

An Arab Complaint—And A Warning

"The Fatherland is in danger."

These words should lead to a concentration of the whole national force in any independent country, awake its feelings of independence. This goes for Palestine, too.

This means: Let us prepare to find the road which will let us save our country and to combat the danger. What should a desperate man, the knife at his throat, do in a case like this? We are in just the situation of such a man: it is a question of life or death with us!

O Jews! Palestine is not a country which one can reduce to slavery! O Zionists! Palestine is not a cemetery!

The inhabitants have revolted several times and have shown that they are men! The courageous spirit of these men is not dead! Palestine is not a slave market! Even in its sufferings, the protection of Allah will cover it and its people who suffer in silence, in the face of another race which fights it, and which is its sworn enemy, and which wishes to drive it from its native soil!

We have attracted the attention of the Government to the natural consequences of suppression and privation. Nothing is more true than that Palestine can keep silence, but it will not keep silent forever.

She can and will awake! The past proves this.

The Government well knows this.

We address ourselves to men of good will: Don't continue to play politics! Don't turn your eyes from the will of the people! Do not say: There is a Balfour Declaration.

Above everything, there is the honor and sovereign right of a people. Does England wish this evil situation to continue?

We think that the answer will only be in the negative. We have lost patience. We no longer wish to let them mock at our rights. England! Watch out for your honor! If you don't we are ready to settle our accounts by ourselves!

—*Ah-Difeh* (Arab nationalist paper), Jaffa.

◆ ◆ ◆

How to Stop Hitler

If France, England, Russia, Sweden, and Spain wish, they can stop any Hitler or Mussolini from making war by depriving them of merely iron ore, manganese, and bauxite. I defy the contrary to be proved.

—Paul Faure in *Le Populaire* (Socialist), Paris.

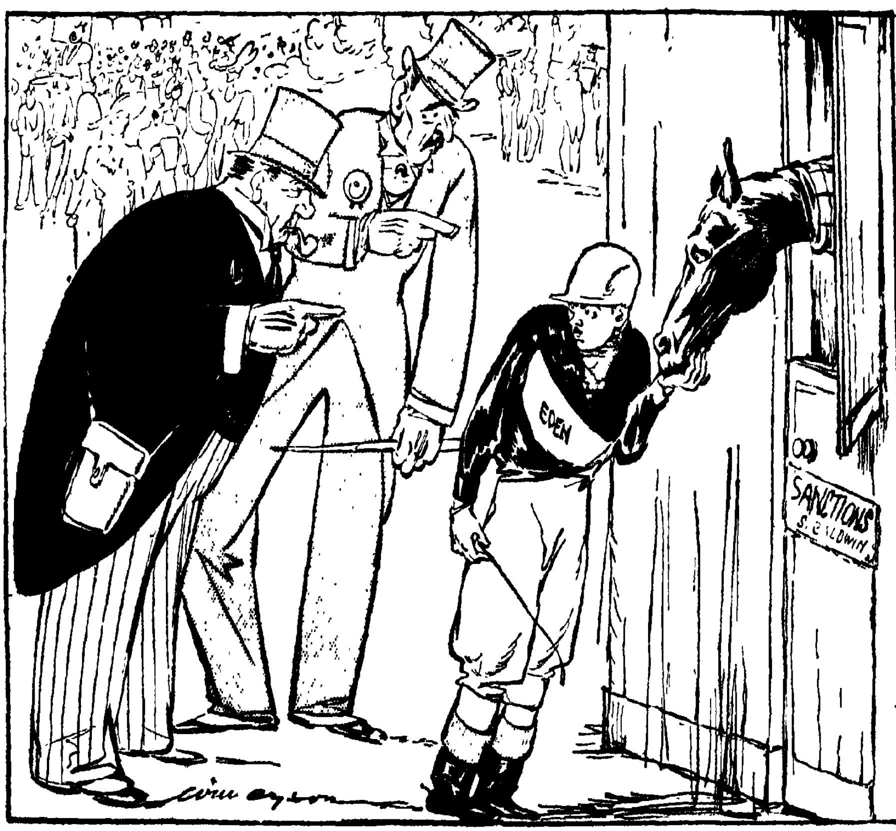
Italy Needs Raw Materials

Italy, rejuvenated by the Fascist régime, has made great strides in its agriculture. Large tracts of land, whose cultivation was barely begun by former sovereigns, are now worked to capacity by the Fascists under an extensive plan. This includes reforestation and drainage. The variety of Italian industrial and other productions; the place occupied by small- and medium-sized industry; and the extreme sobriety of the people, offset the world depression for Italy until 1934. Considering its difficulties since then, manufacturing Italy has done well. The country needs raw materials and markets. These are not in the Italian Colonial Empire, which is poor in natural resources. Economic imperialism is, therefore, pushing Italy to expand in "Ethiopia, the Near East and North Africa."

—Michael Carsow in *Journal des Economistes*, Paris, April 1936.

Badges, Emblems, And Intrigue

The sale of badges in general constitutes a respectable revenue which flows into the treasuries of the societies which use them. Such is the case, also, of one of the most important patriotic Hungarian leagues which has recently issued a badge of the "Patriotic Sorrow"—a new and popular ornament for the buttonhole. Well, it has been discovered that this little symbol, manufactured on a large scale, carried the revealing mark, "made in Germany." Doubtless for reasons of business rather than of patriotism this very patriotic league has furnished these from Germany. Thus German industry and not the Hungarian unemployed profit from this well-paid "sorrow" * * * Some suggest, now, apropos of this news, that there is a deep significance in it. They suggest that all the patriotic sorrows and



THE FAVOURITE

"Understand—ride hard, ride straight, and ride to lose!"

—Daily Herald, London

troubles of Hungary have always borne the manufacturing mark of Germany.

Pesti Paplo, Budapest.

Recently one noticed in the streets of Vienna young men wearing a curious badge in their buttonhole. On close examination, it bore the arms of Abyssinia, with the Lion of Judah. Those who wear it are confirmed Nazis who, since they do not dare wear the badge of their German comrades, thus show their disapproval of the politics of the Austrian Government.

—*Neuigkeitsweltblatt* (Vienna).

Chinese circles in Tientsin were considerably stirred May 22, when the news became known that two employees of the Native Goods Store on Pei Ma Lu in the Native City were illegally carried off by the nationals of a "certain country" (Japan) on Thursday night, May 21. The two salesmen are Chao Ao-lou and Lu Chun-chieh. The incident was learned to have occurred owing to the objections by "certain quarters" that one kind of shirts sold in the store bears the trade mark of a girl holding an umbrella. The "certain quarters" consider the idea as representing the "resistance against the Rising Sun," and therefore anti-Japanese.

China Weekly Review, May 30, 1936.

Drugs: Death No Deterrent

While the Chinese authorities, in a desperate effort to rid their country of the opium and dope-traffic, executed 964 persons last year for violating the anti-drug and anti-opium laws, the Japanese at the same time were pushing the trade in both opium and narcotic drugs * * * According to the official reports of Stuart J. Fuller, American delegate to the League of Nations Opium Commission, Japanese subjects operate drug factories practically everywhere, in Tientsin, Shanghai, Hankow, and as for the puppet state of Manchukuo, the narcotic trade is not only legalized, but is officially propagated among the people.

* * * The Chinese have shown their good faith in trying to restrict the trade by enforcing drastic punishment on violators of anti-drug laws. They not only registered more than a million and a half addicts who are being treated for the habit, but executed nearly a thousand law violators last year. But the futility of enforcement of such draconic regulations in the face of Japanese propagation of the traffic should be obvious. China might as well capitulate to the Japanese drug traffic, because it is foolish to take up the time of the courts and firing-squads merely to reduce the number of Chinese customers of Japanese drug-pedlers. It is a futile process, because the Japanese, by making the drugs available everywhere and using subtle methods of propagation, can create more addicts than China can discover and kill off in a reasonable period of time.

* * * The trade has now reached a point where it is beginning to menace the Occident, particularly the United States. It is significant that those apologists for Japan who argue that the country should be given a free hand in the Orient always conveniently overlook Japan's participation in the narcotic trade.

—*China Weekly Review*, June 6, 1936.

Jobless: Can't Be Coaxed

The Honorable Deputy Larsen (replying to a Minister in the Danish Parliament): "I will read you gentlemen an advertisement which I placed regularly in the *Aalborgs Amstidende* over a four-month period in order to engage some agricultural laborers. My advertisement has remained without any answer, in spite of the attractions offered in it, as follows:

> 'One hundred and forty thousand unemployed are perishing, it seems, in our country. Well in our region of Lundbaeck-Avisgaard and Bislow for some months I have been trying to engage 4 good agricultural laborers whom I shall pay 650 crowns a year, full board and lodging in healthy and spacious apartments, provided with running water, (both hot and cold), electricity, gas, bathroom, individual water-closets. These apartments include dining room, sitting room, two bedrooms each. Radio installed. All labor is done by tractors and electric machines.'

"There, gentlemen, is the ad which I had appear for four months now without obtaining a reply from a single applicant. To remain unemployed under these conditions, you will admit, gentlemen, one must want to remain unemployed."

—*Politiken*, Copenhagen.

Turkey Feels Better

In the future the Republic of Turkey's main objective is to balance its agriculture with a national industry without injuring its economic structure. Our economic policy is to simultaneously increase production and consumption. Turkish recovery is proceeding, thanks to measures taken by the Turkish Government. Compared with the preceding year, 1935 was a far more prosperous and sane one for our economy and finances.

—**Annual Report of the Central Bank of the Turkish Republic, Ankara, Turkey, May, 1936.**

Marriage and Divorce in Russia

So-called "free love" is bourgeois through and through, and has nothing to do with either socialist principle or with the ethics and habits of the Soviet person. It is inconceivable that a lad marrying five times in the course of one year should yet enjoy the respect of Soviet youth, and it is equally inconceivable that a girl fluttering from husband to husband with the agility of a butterfly should enjoy that same respect. Such "men" and such "women" deserve nothing but the contempt of society.

The Soviet Government has no intention of meddling in the private lives of its citizens; but it will permit no one to forget that fatherhood and motherhood are among the established virtues in Sovietland.

—*Pravda*, U.S.S.R., May 28, 1936.

Young Zuyeva declared that a stop ought to be put to divorces instigated by the Party committees themselves. Often enough, husband and wife live together in love and friendship, until it is discovered suddenly that the husband's father was a counter-revolutionary, or that the wife's mother was the daughter of a clergyman. In that case, the Committee orders that the two divorce, thus causing untold misery and tragedy.

Student Nikitina pointed out that respect for family life should first be cultivated by the administrators themselves. As matters stood until now, they seemed to have been wholly unconcerned about the natural need of husband, wife, and children to be housed under one roof, and it meant nothing to them to order the husband to work in one city and the wife to another city. And when they were asked to look into the situation from the family angle they only replied with a sneer.

—*Pravda*, U.S.S.R., May 28, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

"Gypsies, Unite!"

A strong race-consciousness has lately become manifest among the 250,000 gypsies living in Rumania. Hardly a month elapses without some Romani congress taking place in one part of the country or another. "Gypsies, Unite!" is the slogan of these assemblies at which barefooted, swarthy delegates vehemently protest against motor-car importers, "who ruin the horse-trade," or against jazz-bands and radios "which take away the bread from the mouth of the Gypsy musicians."

—*Balkan Herald*, May, 1936.

Problem in Japan: Women

Japan has long been considered a "man's country" but it will be so no longer if projected revisions to the criminal code become effective. A preparatory commission headed by former Justice Minister Matsukichi Koyama would make the keeping of a concubine without consent of the wife a ground for divorce. * * * The new provision will be the most notable advance in woman's rights since the modernization of Japan began, but that it is apt to cause considerable embarrassment among the wealthy and other members of the upper classes, among whom the keeping of concubines has long been a favorite form of diversion. The *nouveau riche* are especially addicted to it. Often, it is understood, the concubines are not particularly popular with the wives, who would welcome this new power to weed out the least companionable of their husbands' lady friends.

—*Trans-Pacific*, May 14, 1936.

Acting with reserve because of the continuance of the martial law in Tokyo, women's organizations, inspired by the recent "clean election campaign", are nevertheless going forward with their programs with new confidence, says the *Asahi*.

They have changed their tactics, however, and instead of concentrating on the fight for women's suffrage, they will seek social welfare measures, protection of mothers and children, and improvement of the social position of women. * * *

Copying the method successfully used by the women of the city of Aomori to obtain the dismissal of a corrupt city council, women's groups here are organizing the Women's League for Love of Municipality, under the sponsorship of the Women's League for Purification of the Municipal Government.

—*Trans-Pacific*, May 14, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Want Peace—BUT—

Italy will not provoke any civilized nation or disturb recognized interests, but will resist, with arms ready, any provocation or menace, even from England.

Italy's destruction must come first, and to do this would risk a European conflagration, especially for those who seek to provoke Italy into a war in which 45 million Italians would shed their last drop of blood. They would feel offended to the core by any policy seeking to crush them in the name of justice.

—*Giornale D'Italia*, Rome.

Bad Men

We are responsible for the disorder and anarchy in the world we leave for our successors, so let us at least show them the right road. The right road is to peace. There is no other. Europe, mother of civilization, merits our pity. Let us show it needs no help from England who, with its Dominions, forms a universe apart, nor from Russia whose genius, however great, is a stranger to us. Continental Europe is our land. Let us preserve it from the only danger it faces of destroying itself by the efforts of furious and bad men.

—Mathias Morhardt in *Berliner Monatshefte*, April, 1936.

"Loyalty" Bill in Japan

The authorities have decided to provide strict punishment for the authors and distributers of seditious literature. We support the plan. It is sound reasoning that the Government should take every precaution against dangers to public order, financial normalcy, and military discipline. Enforcement of the suggested law, however, will be a dangerous experiment in itself to some extent as it is liable to violate the provisions of the constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and of press. The law * * * could be easily abused.

The distribution of radical literature unanimously should be checked, but curtailment of this practice is likely to be found a most difficult task.

—*Miyako, Japan*, May 12, 1936.



HARD TO STAY IN ON A DAY LIKE THIS!

—*Glasgow Bulletin*

Pushkin—Left or Right?

Our country has no intention of canonizing Pushkin. We are casting aside the pitiful efforts of the vulgar sociologists at embellishing on Pushkin, Bolshevizing his personality and making him out as an uncompromising revolutionary. But at the same time we are prepared to unmask and stigmatize the dullards and know-nothings who, in their banal and uncouth way, aver that the poetry of Pushkin, as that of a representative of the nobility, is inherently alien to the proletariat and unnecessary to Socialist culture.

Pushkin is a genius who uncovered the music of our people's language. He has created immortal verse, the beauty of which is eternal and unfading; a deep realist whose buoyant creativeness permeated the life and thought and song of his people. *Pushkin, the luminary of Russian* poetry, lives in the heart of all the peoples of Sovietland.

—*Izvestia* USSR, June 6, 1936, commemorating the 100th anniversary of Pushkin's death.

Norway Reports

Financial developments in Norway in the first part of 1936 are comparatively favorable. The Norges Bank in its first statement showed a foreign currency reserve of more than 100 million kroner, compared with 56 million kroner at the same date last year. The foreign exchange balance of private banks is good. Our trade balance is satisfactory and so is tourist traffic. Norway's credit rates well abroad and the internal money market is easy. National finances show a favorable trend. The budget estimates for 1936-37 show an increase of about 42 million kroner due to proposed increases in grants for public works, subsidies to trade and industry, and aid to municipalities in difficulties. This will increase the national debt by 18.7 million kroner, but there will be no new taxes. *Increased revenue will come by bringing under* the tax laws savings that have evaded assessment up to now.

—*Norwegian Trade Review*, Oslo, February, 1936.

A PLEA FOR SPIRITUAL UNITY

As the unique remedy for the wrongs springing from contemporary international anarchy, I do propose a *CULTURAL LEAGUE OF NATIONS*. This new League, based upon the deep understanding and sincere appreciation of all national cultures, has to fulfill the lofty mission of prevailing upon the dismembered humanity to integrate themselves again into a dynamic harmonious whole. * * *

Japan as a nation *par excellence* desires to awaken the whole world to the universal consciousness that all the nations are the different sprouts of one and the same tree of humanity. Be it recalled in this connection that the same spirit and truth was revealed by the First Tenno Jimmu in his grand Edict concerning the foundation of the Japanese Empire. It says in substance:

"In pursuance of the Universal Way bequeathed by Our Holy Ancestors, We, Sovereign of this Land, should endeavour to enlighten all mankind on the spiritual unity of the world. Then, We shall have to lay the foundation of the Capital to develop this country peacefully into a perfect Family State; at the same time, this sublime ideal should be spread to the Universe, so that disintegrated humanity be converted into a world family." * * *

Our national ideal operates incessantly with the dynamic process of *Musubi* which may be translated as a leaven-like creatively transforming force * * * Our Manifesto of the NIPPON BUNKA RENMEI, which clarifies the Principle of the Absolute Oneness of Land and Man, refers to *Musubi* in the following manner:

"This Musubi is an unceasing dynamic process of creation, assimilation, development and maintenance. Wherever this miraculous power is in operation, no conflict of views, no discord of sentiments, no clash of interests will prevail between the subjective and objective; between mind and matter; soul and flesh; singleness and plurality; state and individuals; urban and rural; capital and labor; liberty and might; the right wing and the left wing; monocracy and democracy; civil and martial; between politics and morality. * * * "

I made lately a detailed proposal to the Government to the effect that a Central Federation of Japanese Culture be established and all principal cultural bodies be invited to adhere to such a main organization.

The Federation should take the initiative of organizing the first Universal Congress of Japanese National Culture as a concrete step towards the creation of the Cultural League of Nations I propose resolutely. Then, I should like to induce all other nations to follow the

same example by establishing each a Central Federation of National Culture in such a fashion that all these Central Federations come into close co-operation with the Japanese Central Federation for the realization of their common aim.

Finally, I wish the thinking people of the whole world to understand the unselfish motive of my rather bold proposition with regard to the creation of the Cultural League of Nations and to join hands in attempting to accomplish this grand scheme of humanity.

—Gaku Matsumoto, Member of Japanese House of Peers and president of the Nippon Cultural Federation, in the March (1936) issue of *Cultural Nippon.*

❖ ❖ ❖

"Menace" in Mexico

To talk, in these days, of "Yankee Imperialism" is childish; it is simply talking about fantastic dangers which do not exist in reality. Another imperialism, more genuine and terrible, menaces humanity, with its numerous and powerful tentacles in parts of Europe, tries to take in its grasp France and Spain, and, here in America, tries to endanger Brazil and Uruguay, and intrigues right here in Mexico in spite of the distance which separates it from us.

Within the United States, capitalistic nation *par excellence,* Russia hatches all kinds of plots to sow red propaganda in the populous centers of industry.

We never tire of repeating it: the proximity of the United States, often so baneful in our history, exercises and will always exercise, great influence on Mexico. "Geography influences history" is no vain statement, and while the northern frontier of Mexico is the same as the southern frontier of the United States, there will be relations between the two peoples: commercial, industrial, social, etc. The one thing we can and must seek for is that these relations be kept within the limits of decorum and mutual respect, conserving and nourishing a friendship of good faith—but with intelligence, honor, and patriotism.

—*Excelsior,* Mexico City, May 22, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Universe Take Note!

Bulgaria has no intention of repudiating the clauses in the peace treaty it signed. We hope that the victorious countries will take note that Bulgaria is the only country today respecting its treaty obligations, and will do all they can to lighten its burden.

Dnevnik, Sofia, Bulgaria.

America—And China's Iron Horse

As the opening of the first American transcontinental railroads, also constructed by Chinese labor, was responsible for the unification of the United States into one political body, many see similar influences here in connection with the completion of the Peiping-Canton railway. Some forecast that the opening of this railway will enable China to block the Japanese conspiracy to cut off North China.

* * * Americans have a special interest in this subject, because they first saw the importance of this railway link and tried to build it, but they failed, and in failing, not only gave American financiers a black eye, but also contributed materially to the delay in the completion of the railway project, which had a retarding effect on China's political unification for more than a third of a century. It probably was just retaliation on the part of the Chinese that no American firm was allowed to supply as much as a single spike in the present work of completing this Chinese transcontinental line. All equipment from rails to rolling stock was supplied by British firms and financed from the British share of the Boxer Indemnity.

* * * New York financiers and Washington politicians, instead of building a railway, put over a smart financial deal which netted them a good profit without doing any work aside from the initial survey of the line. * * * When the Chinese found out that they had been misled by the New York financiers they raised a row and finally paid the American Development Corporation the sum of $6,750,000 gold, for its rights and interests. * * * It was largely due to the scandal resulting from this enterprise that the construction of this all-important railway, vital to the political unification of China, was delayed for more than a third of a century.

China Weekly Review, May 23, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Lovers on Strike

The streets of Piraeus, Greece, were covered last month with yellow posters, inviting Eros' supporters to go on strike. The "Syndicate of Lovers", as this organization seems to call itself, demanded the abolishment of laws by which the police pester lovers at night; reduction in the price of cinema and theater tickets for young couples; measures against cruel mothers who prevent their daughters from keeping dates; measures against landlords who do not tolerate their maids having suitors; and [measures against] other similar injustices . . .

Balkan Herald, June, 1936.



KEEPING HIS NOSE TO THE GRINDSTONE

—*United Feature Service*

Problem for Blum

If Mr. Leon Blum succeeds in transforming his party into a real national governmental party; if he can achieve the governmental task the country expects; if he remains within parliamentary legality and can show true republican authority—he will reform around him all republican troops for a concerted policy worthy of the Republic and France. The nation will be ready to forget certain faults and mistakes of the past.

—*Ere Nouvelle* (Radical-Socialist), Paris.

❖ ❖ ❖

France Arms Germany?

There has been a lot of talk in the last fortnight of the exportations of French iron ore to Germany.

France is at present the largest supplier of Germany, providing 28% of the whole German consumption.

Suppose that France reduced her shipments by two thirds? She would have reduced the Reich's supply to the level of last year's, and would have paralyzed the progress of her manufacture of implements of war.

—*Vendredi* (Paris).

Feeler For Capital

Is there oil in Yugoslavia? Naphtha—or its characteristic associates, such as natural gases, asphalt, and the like—exists in numerous places in Yugoslavia in various geological formations. All geologists agree that the petroliferous fields of Yugoslavia are worth detailed study, and certain spots hold as much promise as the Galician fields. Their development would justify the entry of big capital, especially in the case of naphtha. Lack of any real effort to make proper borings up to now prevent any real judgment as to Yugoslav oil production in the future.

—*South Slav Herald*, Belgrade, May 1, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Successor to Zaharoff

In London and Paris, no one knows his business. Even in the city no one knows Colonel Norris, "the mystery man of Europe." Who is Norris? His name was mentioned as being that of an expert at the Versailles Peace Conference. Later, his "knowledge of affairs" was said to have enabled him to amass a huge fortune. Norris is one of the richest men in Europe.

In every great financial transaction he appears to have taken a hand. He has become a sort of Zaharoff of the European stock exchanges. They attribute to him the sale of the German Reichsbank loan which, by arrangement with Schacht, he was said to have put over in Paris. He was, they say in Paris, the man who tried



EDUCATION OF FRENCH YOUTH

"What are you going to be when you grow up?"

"A striker."

"Good! You will be a credit to your parents and the honour of your country."

—*Il 420, Florence.*

to give the death blow to the franc. On account of that exploit, he and his clique were expelled from France. It is a fact that his expulsion from France caused a debate in the British Parliament, during which certain members of the House of Commons asked for official intervention in behalf of Norris in France.

—*Wiener Sonn- und Montags Zeitung*, Vienna.

❖ ❖ ❖

How Venizelos Died

Venizelos, whose Italian-aided revolt last year brought Turkish troops to the borders of Greek Thrace in a hurry, died, as it now turns out, of the effects of violent over-excitement occasioned by a genuine old-style table-thumping row with Titulescu at the Rumanian Legation in Paris, just after the German invasion of the Rhineland.

Titulescu, just arrived in Paris in a hurry, had announced the Balkan Entente would stand by the Little Entente according to its obligations in the event of trouble with Germany in the north and Italy in the south. Venizelos dashed around to the Legation and saw Titulescu in the presence of Herriot. Venizelos, hammering the table and running his blood pressure up to dangerous heights for a man of his age, declared Greece could not face a war with Italy.

Fuming, with the blood pressure still soaring, he returned home and died of excitement.

—*The Week*, London

❖ ❖ ❖

Vitamins Cure All

Some of the world's leading trade experts see vitamins as a big factor to stimulate business here and in the world. This is roughly the theory: Higher standards of nutrition will help solve the plight of agriculture in any country because more vitamin consumption will increase purchases from farmers who, in turn, will naturally want more manufactured goods. And since they say the world's trade troubles cannot get better before the purchasing power of the agricultural countries is improved, their idea, if it works, may prove a windfall from an unexpected source for the producers of milk, vegetables, fruits, eggs, wheat, or sugar. It sounds pleasant, anyway, even if it hasn't been tried.

Last year, the League of Nations' interest in the subject was aroused, and America was one of twelve countries that voted to put it on the agenda. Now surveys are going on, and we may yet hear how such things as little vitamins helped solve our own and others' farm problems and even promoted business all around.

—*World Trade*, Paris, 1936.

They Go Shopping in the Soviet

In Moscow on the corner of the Mayakov Square and Gorki Street, they recently opened a large dress-goods store, and decorated its show-windows with an assortment of material that is truly unusual as to both quality and color. But in vain do customers attempt to gain admission into that store. At its wide open entrance there are stationed two porters who won't let anyone through. "The doors are ajar for ventilation purposes only," they explain, "and the public may only enter through the rear door."

At the rear, the crowd is always huge, lined up in a queue. About midnight, of every day, there suddenly appear in the vicinity of the store a certain few. One of the group takes out of his pocket a pencil and a sheet of paper and writes down his name. The others register their names in turn, establishing thereby their right to next-in-line.

This sheet is posted at the gate, for subsequent arrivals to add on their names. By the following morning, at the opening of the store, the line is already interminably long.

The procedure, needless to say, cuts the working man out; but it provides ample opportunity for the manipulations of speculators. And is any one fighting against these queues and speculators?

"No," they told us at the store. "We are unable to do anything about it ourselves, and our repeated appeals to the Tenth Militia Headquarters resulted in nothing."

This dry-goods establishment is not the only transgressor in this respect, and you may behold the same picture on passing by the leather-goods store. There, too, mysterious persons,—"first customers," so to speak—appear as early as 10 or 11 o'clock the night before, and by morning the queue is several hundred people long. There, too, the business is transacted through the rear door, the main entrance being shut and guarded by a white-liveried porter. "Citizens," he informs those as yet unfamiliar with the local routine, "this is no entrance and you must go to the rear if ever you wish to enter the store."

—A letter to *Pravda*, U.S.S.R., by A. Morozov.

Pravda directs the attention of the Moscow Soviet and of the People's Commissar for Home Commerce, Comrade Weizer, to the unseemly practice complained of in the letter. The editorial office of *Pravda* hopes that energetic measures will be employed by the Moscow

Soviet and the People's Commissar, with a view to liquidating such distortion of principle in Soviet commerce.

—Editorial acknowledgment by *Pravda*.

◆ ◆ ◆

Ode to An Olive

The olive has been regarded since ancient times as the tree of peace and the emblem of plenty. Its branches were used as the triumphal crown awarded to victorious heroes, and for centuries the roots of the olive tree have spread the substance of human kindness in the mythologies and religions of Mediterranean origin.

The olive's oil has also long been symbolic of high virtues, and served as valuable food. The Israelites used it in their Sabbath rites and sacrifices and attributed its taste to manna.

"Thou shalt command thy children that they bring thee pure olive oil, to cause the lamp to burn always," it is written in Exodus. The wise men of Palestine were called "Sons of the oil," because it produces the light of redemption.

The production of olive oil in the principal producing countries is as follows:

Yearly Average 1927-31
(in millions of kilogr.)

Spain	402	or	47%
Italy	198	"	23%
Greece	85	"	10%
North Africa	69	"	8%
Portugal	61	"	7%
Other countries	49	"	5%

—From an official Spanish Government report by the Oficina del Aceite, Madrid, June 1936.



INVITATION TO WHAT?

It is suggested that Prince Otto is not so keen to accept the Austrian throne, after all.

—Glasgow *Record*

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, June 11--July 12

DOMESTIC

JUNE 13—Estonia, Latvia, and France notify United States they will default on war debts.

Georgia Supreme Court upholds chain-gang sentence of Angelo Herndon, Negro communist, ruling that 1871 Insurrection Law under which he was sentenced violates neither State nor Federal Constitution

JUNE 14—International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, with 200,000 members, announces that it will support the re-election of President Roosevelt.

JUNE 15—War Veterans received $1,500,000,000 in Government bonds

Vote on the anti-lynching bill is demanded by 218 members of the House of Representatives, who present petition.

Harry Hopkins, WPA Administrator, reports that New Jersey's failure to provide relief for "unemployables" caused "starvation and disease."

United States Fifth Circuit Court at New Orleans rules that National Labor Relations Board has no power to regulate relations of employer and employee in manufacturing.

JUNE 16—Jones & Laughlin's steel contract canceled by Secretary of Interior Ickes; steel company found guilty of unfair labor practices by National Labor Relations Board.

House of Representatives passes substitute bill for invalidated Vinson-Guffey Coal Bill; passes the Wagner Slum Clearance and Low-Cost Housing Bill

Woman and two men flogged in Eastern Arkansas because of sharecropper sympathies.

Drive to purge Black Legion members from public payrolls is begun in three Michigan communities.

JUNE 17—Father Coughlin, crusading priest, proposes third political party.

Senator Fletcher of Florida dies.

Mrs. Dorothy Guthrie, who informed on Black Legion in Detroit, is severely beaten.

Glaucoma, painful eye disease, successfully treated by hormone from the adrenal gland.

JUNE 18—Securities and Exchange Commission asks adequate laws to protect investors and trustees.

Governor Landon of Kansas, Presidential nominee, convenes State Legislature to initiate amendment to Kansas Constitution permitting the State all benefits under Federal Social Security Act.

Fourteen men wounded in riot at Kent, Ohio, precipitated by forty strike-breakers. Rifle and pistol fire lasts six hours at electric company plant.

Southern sociologists speaking at the University of North Carolina warn that economic solutions will not prevent Southern revolt against *status quo*.

JUNE 19—Representative William Lemke announces his candidacy for President as the head of new Union Party, Father Coughlin indorses him.

House of Representatives passes compromise tax bill.

House of Representatives passes strike-breaker bill, making it a felony to transport strike-breakers across State borders

General MacArthur announces that Philippine Commonwealth has drafted defense plan calling for $8,000,000 yearly expenditure for ten years.

JUNE 20—United States Senate passes compromise tax bill

President Roosevelt lifts arms embargo against Italy and Ethiopia; proclaims a state of war no longer exists between the two countries.

Social Security Board approves New York State's old age assistance plan; State will receive $7,500,000 from the Federal Government.

President Roosevelt signs Robinson-Patman chain-store bill, designed to prevent price discrimination between purchasers of similar quantities and qualities of goods.

Unbroken drought in the great central plains area encourages speculative wheat-buying; price rise 3 cents a bushel.

JUNE 21—Alfred E. Smith, former Democratic Presidential candidate, calls on nation to repudiate President Roosevelt.

Dr. Townsend, old age pension advocate, backs Representative Lemke, Union Party's Presidential candidate.

Seventy-fourth Congress adjourns; the twenty billion dollars it appropriated is a record for all time.

President Roosevelt orders anti-trust action against alleged monopolistic practices in steel industry.

JUNE 22—Republican National Chairman John Hamilton promises militant campaign to defeat President Roosevelt.

Federal agents seize $1,250,000 gold hoard held by Swiss corporation in New York; seizure valid under terms of Gold Reserve Act of 1933.

President Roosevelt orders survey to relieve drought-stricken area of South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana.

Congregational Council of Churches reaffirms action favoring United States' membership in League of Nations.

JUNE 23—Democratic National Convention convenes in Philadelphia.

Attorney General Bennett of New York asks U. S. Supreme Court to reconsider New York Minimum Wage Law invalidation.

Gasoline tax received by States from motorists during past year totals $619,000,000.

JUNE 24—Senators Barkley and Robinson defend New Deal before Democratic National Convention.

Three injured and thirty-two arrested after pickets and strikebreakers clash at R.C.A. Manufacturing Company in Camden, New Jersey.

Attorney General Bennett of New York reports that provisions of New York Public Welfare Law permit Department of Social Welfare to accept and administer Federal funds for child welfare services.

JUNE 25—Democratic National Committee indorses platform continuing New Deal under President Roosevelt.

President Roosevelt signs bill authorizing a maximum strength of 2,320 planes for the Army; signs strike-breaker bill making it a felony to transport in interstate or foreign commerce persons to be employed to obstruct or interfere with the right of peaceful picketing during labor controversies.

Organizers from the United Rubber Workers' Union beaten by mob at Gadsden, Alabama, prior to attempt to organize Goodyear plant.

Spring Wheat Belt suffers irreparable damage in continued drought.

JUNE 26—Democratic National Convention renominates President Roosevelt by acclamation.

Strikers and strike-breakers clash at R.C.A. Manufacturing Company in Camden, New Jersey; 12 injured, 24 arrested.

Justice Jennings Bailey of District of Columbia Supreme Court declares unconstitutional the 1935 Railroad Pension Law and its companion tax measures, providing the levying and collection of taxes to finance railroad men's pensions.

Economists warn that rising birth rate in South is major problem demanding nation's attention.

Heat over 100° in Western drought.

JUNE 27—John Nance Garner renominated for Vice President by the Democratic National Convention.

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace warns that free competition in this country must be abandoned in favor of "cooperatives of consumers, of producers, and ultimately of industries."

Secretary Wallace appoints committee of six to coordinate drought relief work in the stricken areas of West.

JUNE 28—Leaders of steel companies announce they will resist attempts to unionize their employees on industrial basis.

Communist Convention nominates Earl Browder for Presidency, James W. Ford, Negro, for Vice Presidency.

WPA announces that security wages will remain in force during new program beginning July 1.

JUNE 29—Fiscal year ends; Government debt at approximately 34 billions of dollars.

Breckinridge Long resigns as United States Ambassador to Italy.

United States Commissioner of Education Studebaker supports the National Education Association's fight to have teachers' oath rescinded.

President Roosevelt announces that lower tariff duties flowing from reciprocal trade agreements will be withdrawn from Australia on August 1.

JUNE 30—Governor Lehman of New York announces that he will be a candidate for re-election, following unprecedented pressure by National Democratic Party at convention to assure his candidacy as aid to Roosevelt in New York.

Ten American Federation of Labor Unions, comprising 1,000,000 members, are ordered to answer charges that they are seeking to set up a rival or dual organization.

William Phillips, Undersecretary of State, named Ambassador to Italy, succeeding Breckinridge Long.

President Roosevelt signs ship subsidy and Government contract bills.

New York City receives WPA grant of $36,697,500.

Sixth United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Cincinnati rules Congress has no authority to regulate or control relations between employer engaged in manufacture and his employees, unless interstate commerce is directly affected.

JULY 1—Members of the Iron and Steel Institute allege that 254,000 of their 275,000 employees voted by secret ballot to retain company unions.

Philip Murray, chairman of Steel Workers Organizing Committee, asserts that American Iron and Steel Institute seeks to foment trouble in order to alienate public opinion from unionization.

Bradley Lumber Company of Arkansas files brief before U. S. Supreme Court

assailing Wagner Labor Relations Act as violating due-process clause of Constitution.

JULY 2—Appellate Division of Supreme Court, in Brooklyn, rules unconstitutional the New York State Legislation outlawing suits for alienation of affections

Secretary Wallace announces Government will purchase and process cattle forced off Northwest ranges by severe drought.

Secretary of Labor Perkins estimates 46,-000,000 workers have jobs.

JULY 3—Interstate Commerce Commission proposes limiting speed of buses and trucks engaged in interstate commerce to forty-five miles an hour.

JULY 4—Works Progress Administrator Hopkins warns that hundreds will need relief in drought area.

Ex-sailor convicted of espionage in California for selling Navy secrets to Japan

JULY 5—Right Wing Socialists form the People's Party in New York State, with Louis Waldman at the head.

Minnesota grain crops cut by drought.

Pennsylvania pledges relief to union steel men who lose jobs in the impending industrial union struggle.

JULY 6—President Roosevelt takes direct charge of drought aid as high temperatures cause increased damage.

John L. Lewis, president of United Mine Workers of America, opens drive for steel unionization in nation-wide radio address.

United States Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Paul restrains National Labor Relations Board from investigating unfair labor practices in assembly plant of General Motors Corporation.

Western drought continues with record heat of 119 degrees.

JULY 7—President Roosevelt plans direct drought aid to 134,000 stricken families.

William L. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, accuses John L. Lewis of blocking plan to organize steel industry.

Postmaster General Farley takes leave of absence from Cabinet to direct Democratic campaign.

Industrial union organizers declare no action of American Federation of Labor will stop steel drive

JULY 8—American Federation of Labor announces it will suspend that third of its membership which followed John L. Lewis into industrial unionism.

Drought victims will receive $20 monthly doles, WPA will employ 55,000

Grain crops in Montana and North Dakota destroyed by heat

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace estimates that buying of cattle in drought area will cost $30,000,000.

JULY 9—American Federation of Labor leaders seek compromise with Lewis forces to prevent split.

Drought areas receive one-year moratorium on rehabilitation loans.

Philippine High Commissioner Murphy resigns to run for Michigan Governorship.

John L. Lewis informs President Roosevelt that labor solidly supports his program.

East Arkansas sharecroppers end farm strike.

JULY 11—Report shows National income during 1935 was $52,595,000,000.

JULY 12—Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, preacher and writer, dies at 71.

INTERNATIONAL

JUNE 11—South Chinese Armies increase pressure on the Nanking Government to inaugurate anti-Japanese war.

Dr. Hjalmar Schacht arrives in Belgrade seeking Yugoslavia's grain crop in barter for German goods.

JUNE 13—South Chinese Armies prepare for war; Japanese forces are landed in Fukien.

JUNE 14—South Chinese Armies retire, after sharp skirmishes, to avoid civil war; Nanking Government hostile to anti-Japanese objectives.

Gilbert K. Chesterton, author, dies.

JUNE 15—British Foreign Affairs Committee decides to recommend abandonment of sanctions against Italy.

South Chinese forces stalemated by Nanking government's firm stand against anti-Japanese crusade.

JUNE 16—King Carol of Rumania announces that Little Entente is fully prepared for unified action.

Poland reports existence of Nazi terrorism in the Free City of Danzig.

Chinese authorities suppress anti-Japanese demonstration in Tientsin.

JUNE 17—Britain leads fight to abandon sanctions against Italy, while denying policy change.

Russia reports danger of war with Japan and Germany has lessened considerably.

JUNE 18—British Foreign Secretary Eden delivers death blow to League sanctions against Ethiopia amid jeers of House of *Comomns.*

Maxim Gorky, Russian writer, dies.

JUNE 19—Geneva reports move to abandon sanctions has further injured British prestige.

French Cabinet announces it will terminate sanctions; Italy pleased by move.

JUNE 20—Argentine demands League refuse to recognize Italian conquest.

Prime Minister Baldwin says end of sanctions will avert war.

JUNE 21—Security against Italy in the Mediterranean is the avowed purpose on the eve of the Straits of Dardanelles conference of the League of Nations; Italy and Spain will not be represented.

League of Nations announces that United States view on non-recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia will be decisive factor.

Scientific expeditions report over 700 successful photographs of the solar eclipse.

JUNE 22—Britain announces that abandonment of Italian sanctions does not mean recognition of Italian conquest; United States avoids recognition question.

Turkey places claims before League; demands control of Straits of Dardanelles.

Action of the Canadian Supreme Court in voiding Unemployment Insurance Act and National Products Marketing Act will be carried to English High Court.

South China authorities threaten break with Nanking Government over anti-Japanese aggression.

JUNE 23—Eight nations led by France and Russia oppose complete capitulation to Turkey's demands on Straits of Dardanelles.

JUNE 24—Report serious skirmishes between South China forces and Nanking Government troops.

Britain and the Soviet split at Dardanelles Straits hearing over rights in Black Sea.

JUNE 25—United States protests to Japan the rough treatment of two Americans by Japanese soldiers in Peiping.

JUNE 26—Haile Selassie arrives in Geneva to press Ethiopia's case before League.

JUNE 27—German Government openly supports movement for independence begun by Danzig Nazis.

JUNE 28—Soviet Union protests intemperate utterances of Makiyama of Japan, who declared that "the Soviet Union ought either to evacuate its armed forces in the Far East or declare war on Japan."

Chinese National Government announces a program of spending which includes $325,000,000 for military equipment and $50,000,000 for education.

Alexander Berkman, international anarchist, commits suicide at Nice, France.

JUNE 29—League delegates try to persuade Haile Selassie not to address assembly; he refuses.

Japan formally notifies interested powers that it will not adhere to 1936 London Treaty; Britain announces escalator clause will be invoked to save excess destroyers.

JUNE 30—Fascisti stage demonstration as Haile Selassie addresses League Assembly.

Austria refuses to attend session of the League.

JULY 1—Powers attending League Assembly are silent on Haile Selassie's question: "What answer shall I take back to my people whom you have promised to defend?"

JULY 2—Pope orders a world drive on indecent motion pictures.

Central Government of China and the South China Government continue troop movements; 1,100,000 involved.

Ethiopia demands League Assembly vote to determine her fate.

JULY 3—Bermuda kills bill to aid United States tax dodgers.

JULY 4—Doctor Greiser, president of the Danzig Senate, orders League to end its surveillance in Danzig; causes uproar at League session by studied contempt.

JULY 5—Italy reported to have fortified an island in the Red Sea; Britain fears loss of trade route.

Haile Selassie quits Geneva; en route to London to plan continued war with Italy.

JULY 6—Italy refuses to participate in discussion of Dardanelles Straits; protests many defensive pacts.

League of Nations powers to end sanctions against Italy on July 15.

South China Government offers to submit peace plan to the Central Nanking Government.

JULY 8—Kwangtung wing of South China's Army quits anti-Nanking and anti-Japanese front; Kwangsi army now stands alone.

Hitler offers pact guaranteeing independence of Austria.

Poland warns Danzig Nazis against any attempts at coup.

JULY 9—Ethiopians cut rail line to hamper Italian communications.

British reduce fleet in Mediterranean to win Italian friendship.

Titulescu of Rumania accuses Britain of supporting collective security and regional pacts at Geneva while sabotaging them at Dardanelles Straits convention.

FOREIGN

Belgium

JUNE 13—New Cabinet is formed by Socialists under Paul van Zeeland.

JUNE 17—Belgian workers strike and force Premier van Zeeland to concede their demands.

JUNE 18—Belgian strike spreads; army is called out to keep order among 500,000 strikers.

JUNE 20—Antwerp dock strike settled.

France

JUNE 12—French Chamber passes 40-hour work-week bill.

JUNE 13—Automobile and metal workers end strike.

JUNE 18—French Cabinet promises to enforce law dissolving "combat groups and militia."

JUNE 19—Finance Minister threatens to make a drive on hoarding; financial situation grave.

JUNE 22—French seamen strike; hoist Red flags on ships anchored at Marseilles.

JUNE 23—Premier Blum extends Government control over Bank of France; announces that foreign policy will include plan for regional combinations against aggressors within League.

JUNE 29—French Communists demand suppression of fascist party under Colonel François de la Rocque.

JUNE 30—French Chamber supports Premier Blum's suppression of French fascist groups.

JULY 1—French propose to fortify Swiss frontier.

JULY 4—Chamber of Deputies approves Government Board to fix and control price of wheat.

JULY 8—French Communists defy Premier Blum to forcibly eject strikers from factories.

Germany

JUNE 13—*Voelkischer Beobachter*, official National Socialist party organ publishes anonymous letters protesting the degrading position of German workers.

JUNE 14—Terroristic organization, to avenge death of Ernest Roehm in Hitler's "blood purge", reported active in Germany.

JUNE 17—Heinrich Himmler, commander of Nazi Special Guards, and executive head of the *Gestapo* (secret police) is appointed "Chief of the German Police in the Ministry of the Interior."

German war officials state that in case of a naval blockade Germany is invulnerable

JUNE 29—Dr. Bernhard Rust, Minister of Science, states at Heidelberg to international gathering that Nazi-ism precedes science.

Italy

JUNE 11—Marshal Pietro Badoglio resigns as Viceroy of Ethiopia in order to reorganize Italy's armed forces.

JUNE 16—Italy announces intention of forcing League to rescind its verdict of aggression in the Ethiopian conflict.

Palestine

JUNE 13—Arab-Jewish riots in Bethlehem.

JUNE 19—British Colonial Secretary Ormsby-Gore promises that Britain will restore peace to Palestine with fair play to all.

JUNE 20—Arabs charge that British policy is responsible for anti-Jewish riots.

JUNE 21—British planes used to aid troops in routing Palestine Arabs. Two British soldiers, twenty Arabs killed in battle.

JUNE 26—Bedouins numbering 100,000 announce they are ready to aid Arabs in Palestine.

Spain

JUNE 16—Thirty-six Catholic churches burned and thirty-four damaged in Madrid; Leftist Government fails to restore order.

JUNE 25—Spanish Socialist majority demands dictatorship of the proletariat.

JUNE 26—Spanish Cabinet votes to expand educational system involving lay teachings in order to nullify doctrines of Catholicism.

JUNE 28—Spanish Government threatens direct action unless employers settle nationwide strike.

JULY 6—Spanish officials order arrest and suppression of all fascist organizations throughout the nation.

Soviet Union

JUNE 11—New Soviet Constitution sets up parliament with two houses; liberty of worship and equal rights for women are also guaranteed; secret ballot to be introduced.

JUNE 27—Soviets report $600,000,000 annual gold production.

LATIN-AMERICA

Bolivia

JUNE 21—Military elements expel civilian elements from the provisional government; army will control.

Cuba

JUNE 20—President Miguel Mariano Gomez promises immediate amnesty act to terminate prison sentences and encourage political exiles to return to Cuba.

Mexico

JULY 1—Peasants riot in sympathy with striking chauffeurs; police kill thirteen and wound fifty two; Federal soldiers disarm police.

JULY 2—Capital of Yucatan placed under martial law.

—Speaking of *Travel*—

New World Defers to Old in Canadian Provinces

HIS Majesty's five wards—all girls and still in rompers—of Callander, Ontario, are to be taught French as a native language in keeping with the customs of the people in French Canada. Had the famous babies been born on Cape Breton Island, or even on the Northeastern part of the mainland, it is possible that they would have sung their nursery rhymes in Gaelic. For the Canadians, while loyal to the King and the British Empire, have still managed to nourish the traditions and speak the languages of the countries of their fathers.

Tourists visiting Nova Scotia, for example, often come away with the feeling that the country is the miniature picture of the "old Western Europe" of a century or more ago. Little villages and settlements throughout Nova Scotia seem to be reincarnations on a small scale of old-world England, France, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany. Most of the regions have clung closer to customs, dress, and folklore than their mother countries from whence they came centuries ago; in fact, a larger percentage of Scots in Nova Scotia speak Gaelic today than in "Auld" Scotland. And on St. Mary's shore, between Yarmouth and Digby, the descendants of the people immortalized in Longfellow's "Evangeline" still speak the colorful patois of seventeenth-century Normandy.

From French to English

Certain sections of old Quebec, too, have been hesitant to allow mechanized progress to rule out the ox-cart, outdoor-ovens, and thatched-roof barns, as typically French as a page from Flaubert. Yet the scene changes quickly, for roads through French Canada often lead unsuspectingly into full-grown old English settlements. This is especially true of the region near Montmorency Falls, where tourists find themselves in seventeenth-century France, only to walk directly into old England of the same period. The setting of the famous Falls is associated with the English reign of His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, fourth son of King George III. It was here



MARKET IN MONTREAL: *Old customs, dress, folklore and traditions are still maintained.*

WHERE-TO-GO





HOTEL - RESORT AND TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

Established 1906

FEATURED EVERY MONTH IN EIGHT PUBLICATIONS

OUR GROUP OF QUALITY MAGAZINES

Atlantic Monthly, Current History, The Forum, Harpers Magazine, Mid-Week Pictoricl (2 issues), Nature Magazine, Review of Reviews and Scribner's Magazine

For space and rates in our departments write to
THE WHERE-TO-GO BUREAU, Inc., 8 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.



The early receipt of copy is requested

The eight magazines The Where-to-go Bureau uses regularly are all quality publications, and welcome visitors monthly in our best homes and influence quality people everywhere

MAINE

PLEASANT ISLAND

In the Rangeleys

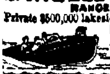
Lodge and Cottages. Every vacation pleasure, marvelous food, all modern conveniences.



Stream-lake fishing, Trout and Salmon. Reached by new auto road through birches from Oquossoc. Booklet. Weston U. Toothaker, Prop., PLEASANT ISLAND, MAINE

RANGELEY LAKE HOTEL

RANGELEY LAKES, MAINE



Private $500,000 lakeside estate. Elevation 1600 feet. No hay fever. Fine golf course at door. All sports. Dancing, movies. References. From $6.00 per day with meals. Cottages. Fishing

When writing to these advertisers will you please mention The Where-to-go Bureau? It will be greatly to your advantage to do so.

VERMONT

SHANTY SHANE A Summer Lodge For Families

Golf, Tennis, Water Sports, Good Cuisine. Booklet. Shanty Shane, Ely, Vermont.

Ask Where-to-go Bureau, 8 Beacon Street, Boston, for space & rates in our department

TRAVEL ACCESSORIES

TRAIN SICKNESS



Speed in Comfort

Mothersills

TRAVEL

NEW ZEALAND

AUSTRALIA



TOUR NO. 1 ... $399 UP

51-day all-expense tour to Australia, $399 up, Cabin Class ... 6 days *in Australia*. Sail on the speedy *Aorangi* or *Niagara*. The *Aorangi* has larger rooms, extra baths, new decorations. From Vancouver or Victoria in Canada's Evergreen Playground to Honolulu, Fiji, Auckland, Sydney. Connect at Honolulu from California ports. Round trip to Sydney, First Class ... $450 up. All-inclusive tours. Details from YOUR OWN AGENT or Canadian Pacific.

CANADIAN AUSTRALASIAN LINE

Remember—small copy is BIG in Where-To-Go

ORIENT

TOURS $6.25 PER DAY

2 MONTHS' TRIP $376

Round-the-World Tours $515-$639. One Class "General" ships Portland to Yokohama $172, Kobe $177, Shanghai $198, Hong Kong $215, Manila $215

SEE YOUR TICKET AGENT OR WRITE DEPT 27

STATES STEAMSHIP LINES, Portland, Oregon

Where-To-Go advertising covers N. America—U. S. income taxpayers on $5,000 and over

WASHINGTON D. C.

The DODGE Hotel

On Capitol Hill · Washington, D. C. Experienced men and women travellers enjoy our "No Tipping" service. [illegible] to [illegible].



Where-To-Go for Sept. closes July 29

The Where-To-Go system influences the people comprising the cream of all Travel prospects. Our advertisers waste no money in presenting their invitations to people who cannot accept.

TEXAS

Free!



NEW 32 PAGE PICTORIAL BOOKLET ON WHAT YOU'LL SEE IN

TEXAS

DURING THE

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS

More than 150 photographs, many in four colors. Send for this pre-view of Texas, then see it all for yourself during the Celebrations. Visit the $25,000,000 World's Fair at Dallas; the Frontier Centennial at Fort Worth. See San Antonio, Galveston-on-the-Gulf, Houston, Amarillo, El Paso and other points. Come to Texas..

MAIL COUPON

TEXAS CENTENNIAL 16-F
State Headquarters, Dallas, Texas

Please send literature on Texas and Centennial Celebrations to:

Name__________
Address__________
City__________ State__________

at the Royal Duke's old ballroom and banquet hall that dinners were given to the royalty several hundred years ago by the Governor General of Canada.

The Falls of Montmorency, incidentally, are one hundred feet higher than Niagara. The waters plunge sheer downward into a white foamy cataract and rise in a whirlpool dance over the descending cascades to the river surface.

The shores of Quebec offer evidence of the old world at every turn of the waters. The voyage from Niagara down the St. Lawrence through the Thousand Isles is the course used as a gateway to the New World when the French and English were establishing their colonies there.

Customs Not Discouraged

The rôle of the Government in this theater of seemingly contrasting traditions is that of a kindly, interested, and impartial observer. Where French or other populations prevail, no attempt is made to change the language, dress, or customs of the people; in fact, the Government seems to encourage the retention and development of the separate traditions and cultures. This is especially true on Cape Breton Island, where a new national park is now being developed. The site of the park is so situated that the French settlement of Cheticamp is located at its opening, while an established Scottish development is embraced at the park's other extremity.

New National Park

The park will probably be known as the Cabot National Park in honor of the famous fifteenth century navigator and explorer. Stretching over an area of more than 250,000 acres in the northern part of the island, it will be the first national park to be developed by the Government in the eastern and sea coast territory.

Historians as well as tourists and nature lovers will watch the development of the park with interest, for it was on Cabot's discovery of the land while sailing into Aspey Bay in 1497 that England based her claim to territory in the New World. The park can be circled by the new Cabot Trail, built in 1930, which begins at Baddeck and Beinn Bhreagh, summer home of the late Alexander Graham Bell, and leads in a somewhat circuitous route through South Gut, St. Ann, and Englishtown, hugging the Atlantic coastline to Neil Harbor and crossing the northern part of the island. When the program of hard-surfaced road construction is completed, visitors to the park will be assured of excellent thoroughfares, either through Amherst via New Brunswick, or, if they ship their cars to Yarmouth Harbor, to the gates of the park.

It is interesting to note that free camp sites equipped with water supply, cooking facilities, open fireplaces, and other camping accommodations will be provided for tourists.

One of the fundamental purposes in creating the park was for the retention of the flora and fauna as it existed in its own undisturbed environment hundreds of years ago. Toward this end, plans have been arranged which will see a large shipment of moose to Newfoundland in exchange for caribou. Moose and deer are plentiful in Nova Scotia, but the caribou is practically extinct.

While the national park on Cape Breton Island is rapidly being pushed through to completion, Stanley Park and the Evergreen Playground near Vancouver, British Columbia, are the scene of a number of events held in conjunction with the Golden Jubilee celebration, which continues until September 7. It will be in the wooded wonders of Stanley Park, in surroundings of Old-World gardens and evergreens, that the musical and dramatic festivals will be presented. It is here, too, that exhibits of Hawaiian and Fiji villages, Oriental tea gardens, and displays of Coastal Indian craftsmanship, will be located. Regular trips will be made from Vancouver to the Evergreen Playground, vast stage of scenic beauty and grandeur.

Here and There . . . .

Germany's new colossal open-air theater, named "Dietrich Eckart Buhne" after the German poet, will be opened this month in conjunction with the Olympic games. The theater, having a seating capacity of 20,000, will be the scene of a number of specially arranged music, dance, and dramatic programs. Eberhard Wolfgang Moeller, young author, has written a new play which will be presented during the first week of this month. Later in the month, Handel's oratorical work, "Heracles", will be produced.

◆ ◆ ◆

Latest estimates of increases in tourist population in Europe are: Scandinavian countries, thirty to fifty percent; Russia, thirty percent; Balkan States, twenty-five to thirty-five percent.

Italy, Hungary, and Germany have announced travel cost reductions of from twenty-five to thirty-five percent. Italy's saving to tourists is in the form of an Italian Lire Letter of Credit, which offers an approximate twenty-five percent reduction. In Hungary, the Pengo Travelers Cheques will reduce costs by thirty-five percent, while in Germany, a similar saving for tourists will be effected by the newly announced Reichsmark Travelers Cheque.

❖ ❖ ❖

Belgrade's first fair, an event of first importance to the Balkans, will be opened in October. The fair, to be held near the new Zemun Bridge of the left bank of the river Sava, will bring together some of the most striking products of the Balkans.

❖ ❖ ❖

The lowly sewer can hardly be called a thing of grace and beauty to attract tourists, yet thousands of visitors to Paris are touring the city's sewers, famous in fiction and legend as a result of Hugo's "Les Miserables." The trip, made in boats over the sullen darkish waters, is only a mere fraction of the enormous length of the sewers, which measure 600 to 700 miles. The intrepid voyagers start beneath the Place de la Concorde and finish up below the Madeleine Church.

❖ ❖ ❖

Hawaii has always been proud of its schools and educational advancements. The Island had an organized system of schooling even before California, and wealthy "forty-niners" sent their children to Hawaii to be educated. The University of Hawaii, recognized for its distinguished faculty and excellent facilities, maintains summer sessions and is well attended by visiting American students and teachers who find the combination of studies and vacation a happy one.

❖ ❖ ❖

Golfers who have gone so far as to blame particular altitudes for their failure to keep within hailing distance of par are being referred to Switzerland's courses. There, a golfer can play at an altitude of 5,000 feet above sea level or drop down to a mere 1,000 feet. The rounds at Lucerne, Saint-Moritz, Berne, Geneva, and Interlaken are all pitched at altitudes. If the golfer wishes, he can play in sheer isolation between snow-capped peaks alongside the beautiful lakes of Lucerne or Geneva.

(Continued from page 7)

sellers for many months. *Waterloo*, written by the author of the brilliant *Coronet*, portrays the return of the Little Corporal from his exile in Elba, the march to Paris and regained glory, and Napoleon's crushing defeat at the hands of Wellington. *Eyeless in Gaza*, Mr. Huxley's latest novel, needs no comment: Huxley is Huxley, and few require more in the way of recommendation.

Miscellaneous Reviews

Present day discussions on social philosophies too often make the mistake of assuming that the subject is one peculiar to present-day civilization alone. But in *The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations* (McGraw-Hill, $4), Joyce O. Hertzler, professor of Sociology at the University of Nebraska, presents evidence to show that practically everything presented today as new in the realm of social thought has been tried, sometimes discarded, sometimes retained, by the ancient civilizations.

Professor Hertzler's work bears the imprint of authenticity and fine scholarship. His survey is based on exhaustive research on actual documentary material, which include funerary writings, legal codes, prophecies, letters, social-ethical and ethical-religious literature, admonitions, precepts and proverbs, and administrative reports and other political documents.

❖ ❖ ❖

The history of the world has been the subject of a great number of encyclopedias and special volumes. In *World History: The Growth of Western Civilization*, (Dutton, $3.50), R. Flenley and W. N. Weech have collaborated to present in one compact work of 350,000 words the entire panorama of history, from the earliest prehistoric period to the first eras of civilization in China, Egypt, Syria, coastal Arabia, Mesopotamia, and the Punjab, and to the subsequent development of civilization to the point it has reached today. As a review of the world's history, the book is both easily adaptable to ready reference and profitable leisure reading.

❖ ❖ ❖

Those who believe that citizenship should be made real and personal will read *Effective Citizenship*, by Millard S. Darling and Benjamin B. Greenberg (Prentice-Hall, $1.40) with particular interest. For the authors have dropped emphasis on the form and structure of government and have stressed its functions and problems. The matters of crime, poverty, and occupational questions, for example, figure largely in the book. Comparison is made, too, of the United States with other governments in relation to citizenship. The book is well-written, practical, and carefully thought out.

❖ ❖ ❖

C. S. Duncan proposes an eleven-point plan for the readjustment of economic transportation problems in *A National Transportation Policy* (Appleton-Century, $3). The plan calls for adoption of a new and sound transportation policy which would treat the entire problem as a "single, unified" question, including all transportation facilities. Dr. Duncan urges that private ownership and operation of railroads be preserved and supported; that other modes of transportation be forced to submit to the same regulation of rates, service, and safety requirements as the railroads; that the government exercise authority to withhold permission for extension of certain transportation facilities, including "roadways", and that the "Government shall seek to achieve, as fully and as rapidly as possible, fair conditions of competition among all transport agencies and such coordination service as will assure thorough development of all inherent advantages in each agency, a completeness of service, an avoidance of unnecessary duplication, and a general development of a well-balanced, progressive, and efficient transportation system."

It would appear from Dr. Duncan's book that the railroads do not believe that streamlining and other improvements in services and schedules are sufficient to make them self-sustaining. Other forms of transportation—the buses, airplanes, and inland waterways vessels—cut deeply into the normal revenues. The railroads, having to pay for their land and rails, protest the injustice of roadways, airlanes, and waterways which are open to other forms of transportation at less than a fraction of their own costs.

❖ ❖ ❖

Extremely timely, now that the presidential campaign is under way and political oratory is particularly profuse, is *The Discussion of Human Affairs* (Macmillan, $1.75), by Charles A. Beard, eminent historian and distinguished former contributing editor to *Current History*.

Subtitling his book "An Inquiry into the Nature of the Statements, Assertions, Allegations, Claims, Heats, Tempers, Distempers, Dogmas, and Contentions which Appear when Human Affairs are Discussed and into the Possibility of Putting Some Rhyme and Reason into Processes of Discussion," Mr. Beard proceeds to analyze discussions from the standpoints of a speaker's experience, opinions, topic, and the reason for the type of response he is accorded by his listeners. The author, in applying the "latest researches and formulations of historiography" to his subject, believes those who are given over to a discussion of human or public affairs will find that a study of historiography will enable them to "distinguish somewhat effectively between fact and opinion, and to have various positions or points of view (tacit or admitted) from which any expression of opinion proceeds or takes direction."

September 1936 * Price 25 Cents

EMIL LENGYEL — TIBOR ECKHARDT

"Austria's Gamble" "As I See Europe"

REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

"Changing Acres"

BREWING A LABOR PARTY

By Arthur E. Suffern

THEY SAY: A digest of world-wide comment

PUBLISHED BY CURRENT HISTORY, INCORPORATED



This Light Can Save 5000 Lives a Year

And it can save the suffering caused by more than 80,000 unnecessary accidents; it can prevent an annual economic loss of more than $180,000,000—death, injury, waste that are the result of preventable night accidents. This fearful toll can be stopped by the adequate lighting of the primary highways of the nation.

Already the golden-orange, danger-dissipating light of sodium lamps is lifting the terror that lurks on dark roads. As these lamps illuminate more and more miles of highway, they will save thousands of Americans otherwise doomed to meet injury or death in night accidents. Sodium lamps are among the latest of the many aids to safety to which the General Electric Research Laboratory, in Schenectady, has made important contributions.

But research in light is only one of the many fields in which G-E scientists are helping you. The new manufacturing methods which they have developed have reduced the price you pay for necessities. The new products they have provided have stimulated industry, have created new employment, have raised the living standard of the nation.

G-E research has saved the public from ten to one hundred dollars for every dollar it has earned for General Electric

GENERAL ELECTRIC

Current HISTORY

For September

M. E. Tracy
Publisher

Leonard M. Leonard
Assistant to the Publisher

John C. Casman
General Manager

SPECIAL ARTICLES

REGULAR FEATURES

Current History. Volume XLIV. No. 6. September, 1936. Published Monthly by Current History, Inc., at 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy, $3 a year; two years $5; three years $7; Canada, 75c a year additional; foreign, $1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new address. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Entered in Canada as second-class matter.

THE WORLD

IN BOOKS

A PEOPLE are at war among themselves in Spain. But long before the sewers of Madrid became filled and choked with the blood of neighbors, two Spanish farmers, according to legend, fought and killed each other in a quarrel over a melon. It would seem, as the prophetess of the "Edda" sang:

> *Wind time, wolf time,*
> *—ere the world will pass,*
> *No man on earth*
> *—his fellow-man will spare.*

And that which is happening in Spain is threatening in France. Over the entire world, in fact, says Jan Huizinga in his *In the Shadow of Tomorrow*, (W. W. Norton, $2.50), there hover "complications whose solution can hardly be evaded any longer." Today, the "complications" may consist of revolution, as in Spain. Tomorrow, the flames of conflict may spread among nations, fanned by impossible boundary demands, intolerable economic conditions, and impatient national minorities. The world, says Professor Huizinga, remains helplessly threatened by the madness of a devastating war, bringing new and greater degeneration in its wake.

Professor Huizinga, historian-philosopher of Leyden University, contends that the entire fabric of present-day civilization is decaying. Examining the causes and extent of this slow crumbling of our modern societies, he finds that "economic dislocation is only one aspect of a transformation of much wider import." Other aspects would include the battered jetties of twentieth century culture, the deterioration of moral standards, the "disavowal of the intellectual principle," and the misuse and even "barbarization" of science.

Yet Professor Huizinga decries pessimism. Even though he sees all about him a "demented world"—a world stooped under the weight of its severest crises in centuries—he is not quite willing to admit that civilization cannot reach down, pull itself up by the bootstraps, and "go forward."

"A general going back is out of the question," he writes. "There is nothing but to go forward even if we stand appalled at the unknown depths and distances ahead, even if the near future faces us as a yawning abyss shrouded in dark impenetrable vapors."

Forward? But where? And how?

Internationalism should be one of the first objectives, Professor Huizinga believes. Present-day nationalisms, with the attendant arm-stretching, shirt uniformity, goosestepping, regimented thinking, and legislated pride, do not make for the betterment, or even maintenance of civilization. The author does not advocate, however, a wholesale demolition of all individual nationalisms, but urges that present impure nationalisms be transformed into "purified" internationalism. Nationalities may be preserved, but only when the spirit of internationalism has been brought into play to such an extent that nations with different flags and different salutes can tolerate each other and not make conflicts out of contrasts.

Such is the vision of the new civilization, if, and when, it is brought about, as seen by Professor Huizinga. And it is to the younger generation that the author looks to "rule the world as it would be ruled, to save it from perishing of pride and folly, to permeate it again with the spirit."

In the Shadow of Tomorrow can hardly be called popular reading. There is that about it, however, to commend it highly to any shelf containing the *Social Contract* or Spengler's *Decline of the West*.

Lussu's "Road to Exile"

Professor Huizinga's work has already appeared in Europe and has evoked wide and favorable comment. In this respect, it is similar to Emilio Lussu's *Road to Exile: The Story of a Sardinian Patriot* (Covici-Friede, $2.50), which has stirred the Continent more than any other recent work on the early days of Italian Fascism.

What Would You Like To Trade *for a* Useless River?



TAKE THE PLATTE—meandering out of Colorado and Wyoming into the Missouri down near Omaha. "The most useless of rivers!" That's what Washington Irving called the Platte when he took a "Wild West" tour a century ago. One look at this river seeping through the Nebraska buffalo grass was enough for this Hudson River aristocrat! "An air of sterility prevailed over these savage wastes" which he was certain must be forever "unfit for cultivation!"

The good-for-nothing Platte made the pioneers so mad, they made political speeches against it! In the Kansas constitutional convention, the Platte was condemned for three reasons: it couldn't be forded because of the quicksand; it couldn't be bridged because nothing would support piers; it couldn't be ferried for want of water—just an upside down river!



America condemned the Platte—until somebody thought of damming it! Today a vast system of dams, canals and reservoirs impounds the upper waters of the Platte, and these rich waters have transformed the sunburnt slabs of a thousand prairies into some of the most beautiful farming land in America.

The sugar beet is the best, the most profitable major crop that can be grown on most of these great upland reclamation projects. Corn doesn't do so well (cornbelt farmers can be glad of that) and other export crops like cotton don't grow at all. In the Platte Valley alone are twenty-one sugar factories producing annually almost a billion pounds of sugar—"crystallized sunshine and water." And what has happened to the Platte is true of other projects—Minidoka, Bitter Root, Huntley, Milk River, Sun River, Riverton, Shoshone, Strawberry Valley, and many, many more.

You folks in eastern cities can thank the sugar beet in "the land of useless rivers" for the fact that today 100,000 sugar farmers are not knocking on your door for industrial jobs . . . and are not aggravating farm problems in the grain belt . . . or the corn belt . . . or the cotton belt!

One of a series of advertisements to promote the sale of beet sugar and to remind America of the resourcefulness, efficiency and necessity of the beet sugar industry.



"The Silver Wedge," a booklet describing the beet sugar industry, has recently been published. A limited number of copies are available for distribution on request.

UNITED STATES BEET SUGAR ASSOCIATION

628 GOLDEN CYCLE BUILDING — COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO

Signor Lussu was a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies as a representative of Sardinia when Mussolini, then a struggling newspaper man, first became obsessed with the idea of tremendous political power and planned his March on Rome. From the start, Lussu spoke out against Fascism. He was one of the few who saw through Mussolini's Fascist formula, now being used on these shores, of appealing to the people with extravagant promises of "social justice" and "security." The parade of the Fascists grew longer and stronger. One by one the advocates of liberalism and constitutional monarchism sold out.

Yet the early days of Fascism were rough sailing indeed for the death-dealers of Il Duce. Mussolini allowed himself and his followers to drink too freely of power and the people rose in protest. The protest gained in temper and in volume when Giacomo Matteotti, anti-Fascist deputy, was seized by the shirted clan and put to death.

It was no secret that Mussolini's butcher battalions had been working overtime and had wantonly murdered many citizens at the drop of a hat. There was the time, for instance, when Amerigo Dumini, in charge of one of the cutthroat squads, slapped a young girl in the face for wearing a red carnation, regarded as a badge of socialism. When her mother and brother remonstrated, Dumini sneered and shot them both on the spot.

Such incidents were not taken lightly by the people, especially when one of the victims happened to be Matteotti, a popular leader. Opposition against Fascism and its

Books Reviewed in This Issue

GENERAL

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
In the Shadow of Tomorrow	Jan Huizinga	W. W. Norton	$2.50
Road to Exile	Emilio Lussu	Covici-Friede	$2.50
Whither France	Leon Trotsky	Pioneer	$1
Eyes on Japan	Victor A. Yakhontoff	Coward-McCann	$3.50
Under the Swastika	John B. Holt	Univ of North Carolina	$2.50
From the South Seas to Hitler	Ivy Carl	Dutton	$3
Bali and Angkor	Geoffrey Gorer	Little, Brown	$3
An American Doctor's Odyssey	Dr. Victor Heiser	W. W. Norton	$3.50
Storm Over the Constitution	Irving Brant	Bobbs-Merrill	$2
The Social History of Agriculture	Joseph Schafer	Macmillan	$2.50
Why Quit Our Own	George N. Peek Samuel Crowther	D. Van Nostrand	$.50
Herod	Jacob S. Minkin	Macmillan	$2.50
The Flowering of New England	Van Wyck Brooks	Dutton	$4

FICTION

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Drums Along the Mohawk	Walter D. Edmonds	Little, Brown	$2.50
The Big Money	John Dos Passos	Harcourt, Brace	$2.50

quick-trigger toughs gained in volume and Fascist leaders began to resign from the Cabinet. Even Mussolini stepped down a peg or two. But by this time the people would be satisfied with nothing less a thorough housecleaning. His back to the wall, Mussolini tried one last scheme—and succeeded. He stood before the Chamber and Italian nation and said, in effect: "Yes, I assume responsibility for all that has occurred. Who wants to do anything about it?"

This had the psychological effect of breaking the back of the opposition. There were many who wanted "to do something about it," but there were few who were foolhardy enough to accept what appeared to be a certain invitation to their own murder. As a last desperate measure, however, a group of anti-Fascists made a personal appeal before the King. Constitutional liberties, for which Italians had bled and suffered for centuries, had been openly flouted and destroyed. Italy had become a highway of injustice and even murder. The people were appealing to him, the King of Italy, for restoration of their rights. Would he heed?

The King listened attentively. He looked abstractedly out of the window. For a few moments nobody spoke. Then:

"My daughter shot two quail this morning," he said.

The delegates were dumbfounded. Clearly, the King chose not to "do anything about it." Again silence. Finally, one of the delegates, his voice rocked with emotion said:

"I am very fond of quail—they are good eating, fried, with new peas. . . ."

That was the end of the opposition movement. With the virtual blessings of the King, the Fascist ship of state turned full speed ahead. Il Duce sowed and reaped a crop of Cabinet positions and gorged himself with power. There was room in Italy for one party only—Fascist. Beware, dissenters!

And Signor Lussu, as one of the dissenters, found that even a great many of his native Sardinians had yielded to the blackshirts and had demanded that he, too, capitulate. An expedition of local Fascists set out with the openly avowed purpose of murdering him. In this they failed, but the slick Fascist machinery managed to exile Lussu as a political prisoner to the island of Lipari.

Lussu's sensational escape in 1929 is well known.

With two other political prisoners, he braved the choppy waters around Lipari and swam far out to sea, there to be picked up by a friendly craft.

The Road to Exile is as outstanding a contribution to the story of the early days of fascism as is the recent *Under the Axe of Fascism*, by Gaetano Salemini, another exile, to our knowledge of conditions in present-day Italy. Mr. Lussu's work may be read with considerable profit.

Trotsky's "Whither France"

Still another exile—perhaps the most famous exile of them all—writes this month against the dangers of fascism. It is Leon Trotsky, and in *Whither France* (Pioneer, $1) he warns that France, too, must choose. Turn, hedge, and sulk as the Frenchman will, he cannot avoid coming face to face with the hard reality that the flame of democracy in France is flickering badly; soon it may be snuffed out completely. In its place will be rigged up fascism or the proletarian state.

And the choice is not far distant. Indications of the "first mighty wave of proletarian revolution" are seen by Mr. Trotsky in the recent May-June strikes. Meanwhile, he says, the counter-revolution bides its time behind the backs of Blum and Jouhaux.

"The mighty collision of classes is heading towards a climax," Mr. Trotsky writes. "Whoever vacillates, whoever loses time is a traitor. The choice lies between the greatest of all historical victories and the most ghastly of defeats."

Mr. Trotsky has no sympathies with, or for, the Blum Government. "Blum is duping his own party and he aims to dupe the proletariat," he says. And there is no way out on France's parliamentary road. Democracy, in whose name the Blum Government now functions, will be crushed into powder between the millstones of fascism and the proletariat revolution, the author contends.

Eyes on Japan

It is doubtful that France consoles herself in the thought that other nations, too, are traveling a highway which ends abruptly and

points off to sharp Right and sharp Left. Nevertheless, Japan is among this growing number, says Victor A. Yakhontoff, former military attaché at the imperial Russian embassy at Tokyo, in *Eyes on Japan* (Coward-McCann, $3.50). The Land of the Rising Sun is vacillating between outright fascism and "one form or another of socialism." Capitalism clings by a finger, and those who would salvage whatever remains of the old order are turning to a formula whose copyright privileges will be graciously waived by Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler. It appears, the author believes, that the immediate choice will be in the fascist direction. But in the long run, he contends, Nippon will swerve off to the Left.

But whichever way Japan heads, she is not to be considered lightly. Mr. Yakhontoff, in a book which is easily the most comprehensive study of Japan to be published during the last ten years (one finds little to compare with it since the turn of the century outside of *The Things Japanese* by Basil Hall Chamberlain), does much to blast popular "under-estimations" of Nippon. Today, Japan governs a population larger than that of the United States, and has control of a territory larger than the present combined national areas of England, France, and Germany. With Manchukuo included, the Japanese Empire is stretched to an area more than five times as large as that of the home archipelago.

Yet war with the Western nations is not as inevitable as "military experts" are inclined to predict. If Japan is spoiling for a fight, it may very well be that she need look no farther than China. The recent vigorous anti-Japanese demonstrations in China and the success of the Chinese Red Armies would seem to indicate, Mr. Yakhontoff asserts, a "coming struggle that may put an end, not only to Japanese, but to every other brand of imperialism in China." And the lot of the professional war-maker in Japan is made even more difficult by the annoying increase of those citizens who persist in seeing no good in war. More than that: Japan is economically unable to stand the strain of prolonged conflict.

Meanwhile, the forces of Right and Left continue to separate still further. And while, the crisis nears in Japan it appears, at least from *Under the Swastika*, by John B. Holt, (University of North Carolina, $2.50), that Nazi-ism is strongly entrenched in Germany, and the show-down with communism is far off. Mr. Holt, confining himself to an objective study of economic conditions in Germany, says that Herr Hitler's empire is experiencing something approximating a domestic boom. Unemployment has been reduced by half, he finds, and the national income has increased ten percent since 1934. Germans are even drinking more beer than they did before Der Fuehrer transformed Germany into a country of hand-raisers and goosesteppers.

Mr. Holt finds that business is almost forty points better than it was in 1932, but observes very significantly that the situation cannot always be summed up in terms of digits and numerical tables. For one thing, Germany's foreign trade has fallen off sharply. Formerly, two to three million German workers were engaged in processing raw materials sent into the country. Then the "workshop of the world," Germany's foreign trade position has since suffered heavily. For the time being, the processing workers have been absorbed in the munitions works, now operating night and day. But soon even Germany must have her fill of cannon. A country can stuff itself with guns to the point where there will be more bayonets than trees. And Germany is rapidly reaching such a point. When it does, there will be wide unemployment again—a condition which can only be alleviated, in the opinion of Mr. Holt, through a long-range program of land settlement.

Meanwhile, German business is improving and Government finances appear sound. But underneath everything, says Mr. Holt, is the supreme confidence of the people in Hitlerism. Were that to collapse, he adds, the Government would go with it. Mr. Holt's conclusion is that in order to forestall this collapse, the Government must continue providing the people with an opportunity of making a living, and maintaining the "idealism of national socialism."

The German "Idealism"

Whether the people actually believe in this "idealism" is questioned by Ivy Carl in *From the South Seas to Hitler*, (Dutton,

$3). Miss Carl attended secondary school in Munich when Hitler and Nazi-ism were woven into the national pattern in 1933. Students and teachers learned all about Nazi-ism—about regimentation, marching, patriotism, and the correct pronunciation of "Heil Hitler!" It was because of Miss Carl's answer on a "patriotism" questionnaire that her scholastic rating was found "objectionable."

A reign of terror existed among the students. Brown shirts and *agents provocateurs* were planted in the classrooms and even lack of enthusiasm for Der Fuehrer was sufficient grounds for harsh punitive measures. Thus it was that mechanical springs grew into shoulders that shot into the air with accompanying manifestations of "Heils!" But it is hard to say that this constitutes "idealism." "The people," writes Miss Carl, "have more fear than respect for the German Government." It is far wiser to goosestep and keep one's heart pure than protest and be whisked away to a concentration camp.

From the South Seas to Hitler is an amazing autobiography of the daughter of a German spy who was active in service during the war. When the spy was condemned to death, the girl became a "globetrotter" at the age of eighteen months. She was taken to Nuifuti in the South Sea Islands and spent her early childhood almost as one of the natives. Later, she visited Honolulu, Osaga, Yokohama, Buenos Aires, Malaga, Tangier, and numerous other places. Her story, written with a gifted and highly promising pen, is a welcome change from the hardened and sophisticated memoirs of those correspondents, who, as Miss Carl says, "have collected their experiences at five o'clock tea with Goebbels or Hitler."

"What I have told here I have lived and suffered with the German people," she writes.

Bali and Angkor

Miss Carl's description of the island of Nuifuti may very well precipitate a travel boom to the South Sea islands. And if it does not, Geoffrey Gorer's *Bali and Angkor* (Little, Brown, $3), will start the tourist rush in the direction of those islands.

Present-day civilization, conditioned as it is to limited thinking and mechanical domination, all too often falls into the error of measuring or evaluating art and culture in

(*Continued on page 126*)



Current
HISTORY

SEPTEMBER 1936

LOG *of* MAJOR CURRENTS

AT HOME:

AS USUAL, mid-summer found the American people concentrating on sport, pleasure, and vacations. If hotel registries, week-end excursions, and transportation figures are to be relied upon, we have made substantial progress toward recovery. Summer resorts were crowded, highways were congested, and more people appear to have had money available for outings than for several years. Even more significant were trade, banking, and corporation reports.

The normal summer slackening in business was not in evidence, the Department of Commerce announced in its regular monthly survey for July, made public August 9. The survey found the steel industry "unusually active"; it found electrical equipment and building supply industries, in particular, extending the gains of previous months; it found "substantial progress" in the durable-goods industries; and while automobile production declined slightly during July, the report pointed out that "the active market for both passenger and commercial cars has held production at a high level, consideration being given to the lateness of the season." Manufacture of at least two million cars and trucks during the last half of the year was indicated, the department said, by reports from the Automobile Manufacturers Association, compared with 1,729,000 units during the second half of 1935.

The survey showed that "the major current indicators of consumer income —payrolls and cash farm income—recorded further gains in June, and these have augmented by the unusual increase in disbursements of Government funds as a result of the cashing of the 'bonus' bonds distributed in June."

The principal development in consumer-goods industries was cotton textiles, where "rapidly mounting sales have served to prevent the usual summer slackening in production." Rayon output held up to near capacity levels, but the output of silk goods was reported still low.

Unfavorable Trade Balance

The American people bought more than they sold in June. While the export trade for June increased about $15,000,000 over that of June one year ago, imports increased by more than $34,000,000. For the first six months of 1935, we had a balance in our favor of nearly $30,000,000. For the first six months of 1936, the balance against us was about $9,000,000.

According to the Department of

Commerce, our export trade to 33 of 51 countries decreased in June compared with the preceding month. As might be expected, Spain was one of them. Canada continued to be our best customer, though her purchases also decreased somewhat over those of the preceding month. The value of exports and imports in June 1936 and June 1935, according to grand divisions, was announced by the Department of Commerce as follows:

EXPORTS
(In thousands of dollars)

Grand Division and Country	June, 1935	June, 1936
Europe	69,380	69,400
Northern North America	28,089	35,498
Southern North America	17,342	16,789
South America	14,046	15,828
Asia	26,804	31,010
Oceania	6,655	7,756
Africa	7,927	8,628
Totals	170,244	184,908

IMPORTS

Grand Division and Country	June, 1935	June, 1936
Europe	42,568	53,543
Northern North America	23,894	29,917
Southern North America	19,040	24,214
South America	21,583	20,052
Asia	44,366	56,952
Oceania	1,937	3,284
Africa	3,365	2,425
Totals	156,754	190,387

Many economists seek the paramount cause that precipitated America from the topmost rung of creditor nations to that of a small debtor. Many causes are given, among them protective tariffs, increased ingenuity on the part of the purchaser nations (witness Japan), curtailed crop production, and the drought.

None doubts that among the immediate factors curtailing our agricultural exports the drought is the most important. It is too early to estimate the total damage; but it is hinted that approximately half the corn crop has been destroyed, while the wheat crop, although not decimated to that extent, is nevertheless severely injured. This condition, coupled with the fact that the United States is exporting little grain while importing considerable, completes a pessimistic picture.

Politicians, of course, take note of the damage and interpret the disaster in two ways. One school of thought perceives the drought as demonstrating the necessity for economic planning and crop control. Another school holds the opposite view, and points out that the drought has demonstrated the impracticability of crop control. The first group challenges this accusation by saying that once complete planning is put into effect, the surplus of the abundant years will be more than sufficient to compensate for drought or any other capricious act of God. The other group responds just as vehemently that any type of planning must inevitably exaggerate the scarcity of lean years; that the recent administration policy of paying farmers to raise less has been wholly disastrous. Perhaps the truth lies somewhere between these two extremes. One thing, at least, is certain: the abundance of the fat years must assuredly be stored against the time of leanness.

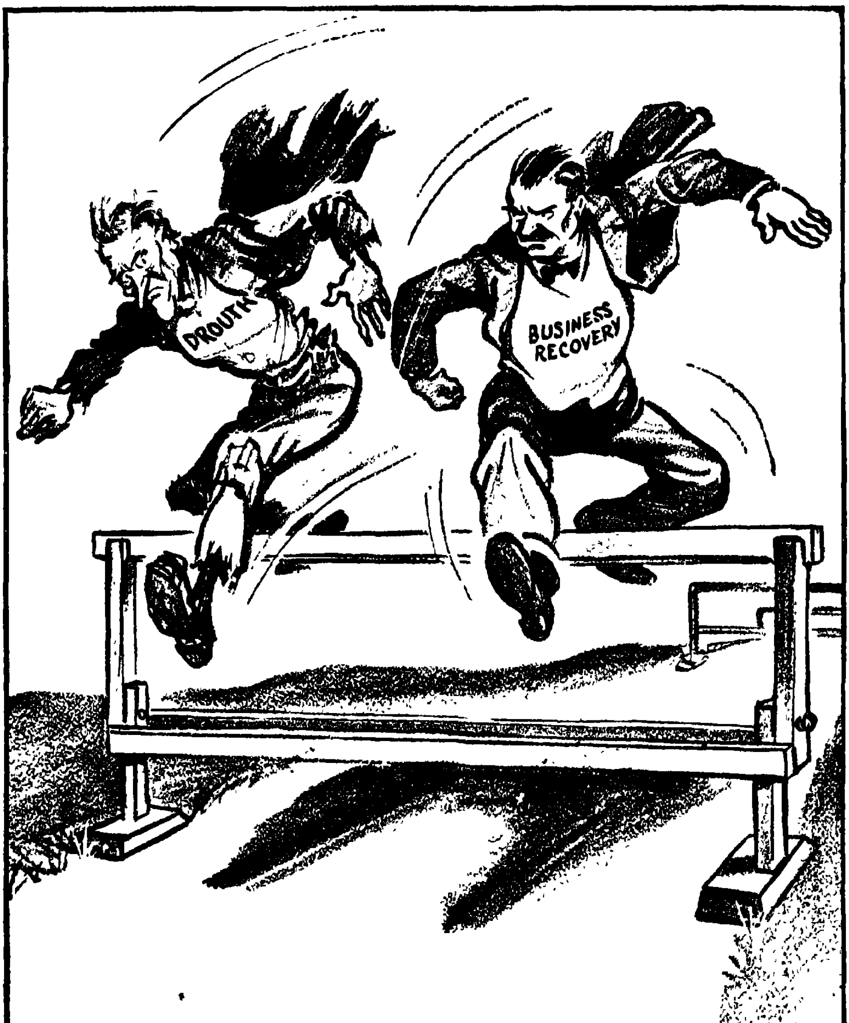
Fire Threatens the West

As the drought continued grimly into its third month, it forced upon the attention of the nation another serious problem concerning the conservation of natural resources. With the forest region as dry as tinder, vast and valuable timber resources were at the mercy of such Lilliputian items as the carelessly dropped match of a picnicker, the neglected ember of a hunter's campfire, or even the presence of an otherwise insignificant piece of broken grass.

Forest fires raged in seven States, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin suffering the most severely. In Minnesota, it was estimated that 50,000 acres had been burned over; at a minimum, 55 families were said to have lost their

homes and possessions and hundreds of others had been forced to flee from menaced dwellings. In the northern peninsula of Michigan, towns were threatened while a blaze destroyed 3,400 acres which included valuable second-growth timber. Traunik, a town with a population of 150, was temporarily saved by a change in the wind, but the lumber settlement of Melstrand was endangered. In Montana, the loss of 30,000 acres of timber was blamed upon incendiaries.

Forest rangers, CCC and PWA workers, and volunteers of all descriptions combined to fight the fires. Some 9,000 men were on the job battling three score fires in Minnesota; 2,000



AMERICAN OLYMPICS

—*St. Louis Star-Times*

were needed to check one outbreak in Wyoming. In the course of a few days, Minnesota ran up a bill of $89,000, of which $39,000 was borne by the Federal Government.

These isolated examples serve to give some idea of the extent of the problem. It is not yet known what the total will be when all the damage has been added. But it is certain that it will exceed the $45,000,000 at which the national loss from fire was estimated in 1934.

Prevention or Cure?

Heavy bills are being run up year after year in fighting fires; and, even, when they are put out, the forest resources of the nation are one more step towards depletion. Fire, with its disastrous after-effects, has been more destructive of timber reserves than all the frantic and ruthless cutting of young growth by the lumber industries. It has certainly been infinitely more injurious than the plow, against which so many are apt to inveigh. Nor is it only an economic problem of the conservation of resources; it is a social problem involving the uprooting of whole human communities.

The fire hazard definitely emerges as a permanent national problem. Forest fires are not merely a periodic visitation of Providence, which can be laughed off today because limitless new resources will be available tomorrow. There is an immediate social cost, and the wealth remaining for the morrow is no longer infinite. The oil industry can tell a story about that.

Two points emerge from the nation's recent experiences with this problem. The first is that, despite the heavy expenditures upon fire-fighting, rain has invariably proved to be the most effective check. But, if Nature has been the best agency in quenching the flames, there is the second point that human carelessness has been primarily responsible for igniting them. That puts the problem in its proper perspective and shows that a cent spent on prevention equals several dollars' worth of cure.

Undersecretary Tugwell is perfectly correct in recognizing that the preservation of natural resources so that they can support those who develop them is a paramount issue in the States today. And, if the drought has brought a recognition of the fact that forest fires must and can be prevented, then it will have served at least one useful purpose.

The Labor Rift

Those unfamiliar with the development of organized labor are surprised at the present conflict within its ranks. It is not, however, either a novel, or an unexpected, occurrence. Industrial unionism has been advocated by certain labor leaders for half a century. It would have made faster headway but for the opposition of skilled workers who were unwilling to surrender the superior position which their skill insured. The rapid expansion of mechanical power and mass production has had the same effect on craft unionism that it has had on crafts, eliminating or reducing the mass of skilled labor. The very same factors of industrial progress which have inspired business to include a multitude of operations in one plant have also given labor the idea of including a multitude of trades in one union.

It goes without saying that craft unionism will probably never be eliminated, for the simple reason that crafts will never be eliminated. But the tendencies of modern industry are such as to strengthen the idea of industrial unionism. Neither is that idea opposed in principle by the American Federation of Labor. The present quarrel is over authority rather than

method, over leadership rather than principle.

Certain unions under the leadership of John L. Lewis have undertaken to organize large industries such as steel, rubber, and automobile manufacturing. The A. F. of L. charges that they did this without authorization and contrary to its own program. Their answer is that the A. F. of L. program was not



SUSPENDED ANIMATION —*United Feature Service*

being carried out, that something had to be done, and that they were willing to do it. Summoned before the executive council of the A. F. of L. as rebels, they refused to appear and were suspended. The issue thus raised will probably come up for decision at the next A. F. of L. Convention in November.

Meanwhile, this split—if such it can be called—is not so serious as some people appear to think. Some leaders may fall by the wayside, and some unions may lose prestige, but the underlying elements of our industrial situation are such that organized labor is bound to reunite or cooperate through both craft and industrial unions.

That Third Party

Third parties are chronic in American politics. We have had them for a century and more — Barn-Burners, Anti-Masons, Know-Nothings, Greenbackers, Populists, Bull-Moosers, Non-Partisan Leaguers, etc., *ad infinitum.* The present third party, which Mr. Lemke brought into being by fiat decree, is less original, perhaps, and less coherent than most of its predecessors. It represents a curious compound of Inflationists, Townsendites, Share-the-Wealthers, and Coughlinites. It was born of dissent and it suffers from dissent. Most of its specific aims are spotty, and some of them conflicting. It lacks anything approaching a coherent philosophy. Its temporary character is illustrated by the simple fact that some of the groups composing it have declined to go further than endorsing Mr. Lemke as a Presidential candidate, while others are plagued by factions who refuse to go even that far.

The Townsendites have one want—$200 a month. They are lining up with the third party—some of them, at least—because they have made little headway with the other two and because their chief hope lies in creating a balance of power. The Share-the-Wealth contingent is governed by similar motives, but lacks the pulling power of any such simple rainbow as Dr. Townsend has painted. As for Father Coughlin's Union for Social Justice, it is too academic and idealistic for practical politics.

The net result of this strange coalitional is problematic. It may mean the birth of a real political faction in years to come. Right now its significance lies in the number of votes it will be able to detract from either or both the old parties and the possible effect of those votes in determining which of the old parties wins.

The American System

Confusion and discontent are playing a big part in the present campaign. As Dr. Boyd H. Bede of Ohio State University told the International Conference on New Education at Cheltenham, England, the other day, "A visitor to America cannot make much out of American politics, but he may get comfort from the thought that we can't, either." Like that traditional John Watkins who was kicked by a mule, and to whom Dr. Bede also referred, we Americans are badly upset. We have a vague idea of what happened, but not why, or what to do about it. Some of our first-aid measures have not turned out so well.

Public opinion in a democracy like ours is bound to be a weird combination. It includes impulses, passing moods, old-time concepts, entrenched beliefs and emotional complexes. It cannot be separated from tradition or inventiveness. It represents compromise as well as conflict between the

old and the new. It is swayed by propaganda and the weather, not to mention countless other externals. Once in a blue moon public opinion shifts some fundamental base, but as a general proposition, it is definitely limited and circumscribed by those deeper stereotypes which pass from one generation to another. What our fathers thought still influences what we think. Dreams of a better future mingle with precedents established long ago to guide the present.

There is such a thing as the "American system," which means that there is such a thing as an American philosophy of life, government, and society. This philosophy has come down to us through the ages; it finds definite expression in our political structure, our economic set-up, and our social institutions. Like all other philosophies, it rests on certain deep-seated convictions. We believe, for instance, in personal liberty, private enterprise, freedom of speech, conscience and action. But—and this is what complicates the situation—we fear and distrust power, no matter what its source, or how it expresses itself. This country was largely settled by those fleeing from power, by religious outcasts, poor debtors, indentured servants, and political refugees. Sympathy for the underdog was bred into our blood from the very beginning. Conversely, we have contracted the habit of viewing all upper dogs with suspicion or resentment, especially when they become too big and brutal. Our attitude toward power is fundamentally different from that of Europe. This is only natural. While most of the greater European nations have put their faith in conquest or colonization, we sprang from colonies. We have inherited the colonial reaction toward centralized authority and remote control. Our dominating complex is defensive. We have seldom invoked power except to break power, and that is where the rub comes.

Power Through Freedom

The very freedom which this government was meant to guarantee has uncovered new sources of power. Individual liberty has combined with private enterprise to produce some of the most gigantic industrial structures ever conceived. There are business concerns in this country which, though claiming all the immunities and privileges pertaining to personal liberty, command larger revenues, larger combines of capital, and larger forces of men than many a sovereign state. Such concerns represent power, none the less real because of its unofficial character. We have become afraid of them for that very reason. We distrust the control which they obviously exercise over credit, service, employment and commodities. At the moment, we are invoking political power to curb and restrain them. We are not invoking it, however, because we have suddenly fallen in love with it. The average American has not been converted to the superstate ideal. Those who think this country stands on the brink of fascism or communism would do well to keep that in mind. You can see the old anti-power complex working underneath all our emergency measures and temporary schemes if you look deep enough. You can see it in the return to anti-trust laws after it looked as though they were going to be discarded. You can see it in the absence of anger at the Supreme Court for outlawing certain phases of the New Deal after they had broken the jam which they were intended to break. You can see it in the steady growth of regulation and the equally steady refusal to substitute revolutionary ideas. The American people have always been willing to invoke one power to break another, but



ALL ABOARD FOR THE GREEN PASTURES
—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

once that task was accomplished, they have refused to entrench the power invoked.

Dilemmas of Progress

Scientific and mechanical progress constantly clashes with the fear of political and economic power in American life. The socialization of private achievement, with a minimum of official interference or control, might well be described as our basic concept of progress. Without bigger and better private achievement, there would be little to socialize, so we encourage it by every possible means. We grant patents, protect royalties, and leave the road open for huge profits. With some notable exceptions, our attitude toward socialization, or exploitation, is

much the same. We tolerate the development of gigantic enterprises for the sake of creature comforts, just as we tolerate lawlessness for the sake of liberty. We dread to invoke such political power as would be necessary for complete regulation and a maximum of efficiency, lest it swallow us. We have invoked this power, however, if, as, and when conditions became too irksome, and we can do so again; but thus far our aim has been to gain temporary relief, rather than make a permanent change.

The prevailing attitude toward the electric industry furnishes a vivid example of our thought processes and the methods we are inclined to adopt when something has to be done. Until recently, we hesitated at nothing which would stimulate the production of electricity and the labor-saving devices going with it. We closed our eyes to stock-watering, paid exorbitant bills, put up with arrogance, excused manipulation, and glorified illegitimate profits. Now that the electric industry has been woven into our economic structure as a routine and essential part, now that its cost and revenue can be calculated with reasonable accuracy, we demand that it get down to earth, forego the privileges of a risky adventure, cut out the promoter or racketeering complex, and operate as a sound, quasi-public business should.

Just to clarify the idea, and not because we have gone superstate, the Federal Government is undertaking such projects as TVA and the Columbia River development. This does not mean that the Federal Government intends to take over the electric industry, but that it purposes to show that industry how things can, and should, be done.

Opportunism, Of Course

Within certain broad limits, we Americans are opportunists, and most of the limits were designed to promote opportunism. We don't admit this, but we rejoice in it. We cherish independence of action and the right to change our minds above everything else. We are born adventurers and experimenters, willing to try anything once, but for that very reason opposed to anything being made permanent.

The average American hates established control by anybody, anywhere, at any time. He will cooperate to gain independence, but it is independence, not cooperation, that appeals to him. He will act collectively to assert or to maintain his rights, but it is the right, not collectivism, that he seeks. He will yell for a New Deal in time of depression, and then yell just as loudly against it when he thinks recovery is assured.

Your average American is not sold on Old World ideas of discipline, regimentation, and the totalitarian state, except for temporary argument. He did not forsake Washington's advice when he entered the World War. He thought he could Americanize Europe, but found he could not. Europe thought this country had adopted the European viewpoint. Both made a serious mistake. In 1917, the majority of us regarded a League of Nations based on democratic principles as not only feasible, but essential, to make victory worth while. Three years later we were voting for "splendid isolation" and "back to normalcy." In 1920, we adopted the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Right now, we are back with the saloon, and the sale of liquor is permitted on a wider scale than at any time for fifty years. What can you make out of it all but opportunism?

The flexibility of our system of government, with its checks, balances, and limitations, is not favorable to any sweeping division as between rights and lefts, or even conservatives and

liberals. As a matter of fact, we are not agreed on what these terms imply. We prefer to be progressive or reactionary with regard to specific problems, rather than in a general sense. Sometimes we find it possible to advocate bureaucracy in the name of liberalism, or uphold personal liberty in the name of conservatism. We are not, and never have been, opposed to socialistic ideals *per se*, but we would rather apply them in spots and in particular cases. We enjoy the privilege of swinging, first in one direction and then in another. It conforms to our training and tradition. Even our major parties reserve the right to change their attitudes. In this campaign, for instance,



ANTI-MONOPOLY —*NEA Service*

the Republican Party appears to be championing the doctrine of State rights, local self-government, etc., while the Democratic Party appears more inclined to centralize authority. This would suggest something of a reversal in the attitude of both parties, but it is generally regarded as signifying little more than the by-product of practical politics. Emergencies incident to depression forced the Democratic Party to adopt measures of a centralizing character. The Republican Party was left little choice but to oppose them. The curious switch deceives and alarms very few.

Meanwhile, we have minorities which do not believe in the American system; which are for radical and fundamental changes; which assert the time has come to discard the principles on which this government was established. It is their right, and we ought to protect them in exercising it, because that, also, is a part of our system. If they had their way, however, it might not remain a part of our system, which is one reason why they do not make more progress. There is not, and never has been, any fixed opposition to radicalism in the United States, except as it aimed to destroy the system which permitted it to exist and express itself. From the beginning, Americans have reserved to themselves and to each other the right to be radical, to preach and proselyte, to advance novel ideas, and to propose queer schemes. That is part of the American system, but to accept radicalism as a fixed method of procedure is not.

A Routine Campaign

A country's politics is ultimately guided by its traditions, its tribal law, its habit of thought, as they are slowly modified by the evolutionary influences of progress.

We Americans know that our system is clumsy and inefficient, that it precludes the speed and precision which go with dictatorships, or highly organized states. We know that it is constantly leading us up blind alleys and getting us into jams. We know that it leaves room for a lot of wasted experimenting and unrealized dreams, and that more often than not it appears to take us back to the place from which we started. We know that it involves more or less confusion, that it is cumbersome, unwieldy, and expensive, and that it leaves the roadside strewn with wrecked adventures which seemed glorious at the time of their inception. But it's our system, and we still like it.

We are running true to form in the present campaign, notwithstanding all the prophesying and head-shaking. Three years ago, there was considerable talk about revolution, preventable only by compromising with the revolutionists, whoever they might be. There were some who said that even the compromising amounted to revolution, that we had gone "left." It was asserted by one bold forecaster that Franklin D. Roosevelt would be either our greatest, or our last, President. Quite frequently one hears the question asked, "Will the United States go Communist, or Fascist?" The answer is that the United States will go Democratic or Republican, just as it has for the last twenty elections.

ABROAD:

IN *The Story of Prophecy in the Life of Mankind,* Henry James Forman records that there is a remarkable degree of agreement among pyramidologists, crystal-gazers, and honest-to-goodness prophets that the year of grace 1936 is going to prove portentous for the world. The year, they assert, is going to witness a sort of

general clean-up, in which the forces of light are going to triumph over the "cohorts of darkness." Some are specific enough to mention September 15-16 as the date.

But up to the middle of August, the forces of darkness still appeared about three laps in the lead. To the lay observer, it looked as though any prophet with a decent respect for his reputation might find it wise to start hedging his position. The main reason for this skepticism was the bloody struggle in Spain—a threat to peace none the less serious because it came from an unexpected quarter.

The nature of this menace has been very concisely stated by P. J. Philip, writing in the *New York Times:* "Perhaps the Spanish people themselves imagine that they are fighting a private war. If so, they are very much mistaken. They are fighting locally a party quarrel which is dividing the whole Continent, and it is all the more tragic because, whichever side wins, liberty and decency and respect for human life are going to lose."

Progress of the Revolt

The general strategy of the rebels directed that the southern forces under General Franco and the northern army under General Mola should rapidly and simultaneously converge on Madrid. The signals for action were the murders of a lieutenant of the shock police and of a Monarchist deputy (a rising Fascist leader), attributed respectively to Fascists and the State police. The rebellion first broke out in Morocco, whence troops were transported across the straits to Algeciras, there to begin the southern march on Madrid.

It was soon apparent, however, that the Fascist plan of a sudden *coup* had failed. It became equally clear that before either side could claim a victory there would be a long period of hostilities, which would inevitably inflict upon Spain a tremendous loss of life and property.

Although Madrid and Barcelona remained loyal, it was estimated that about half the country was in the hands of the rebels after three weeks of warfare, the insurgents being more successful in the north than in the south. It will be a long job to uproot them, particularly since they have access to rich agricultural regions and since they have been making strong efforts to obtain seaports.

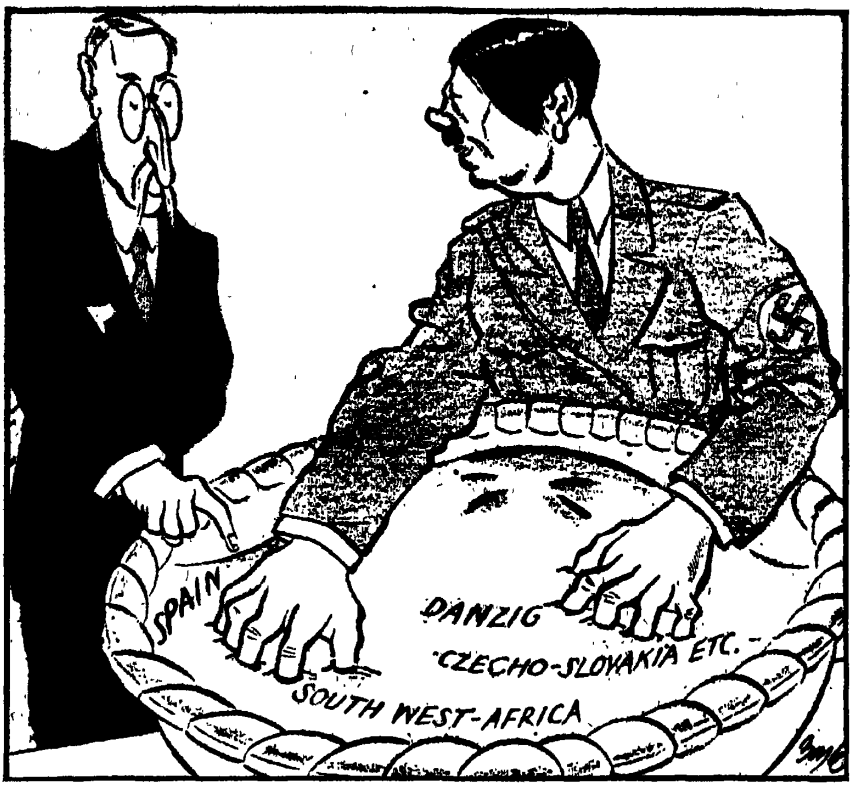
Discounting, for the moment, the possibilities of outside help, the rebels can count as assets the major part of the Army and the resources of the rich landed and industrial classes.

The Government has the Civil Guard on its side; in fact, the unexpected loyalty of that body was primarily responsible for thwarting a sudden rebel *coup*. It also has the support of the Navy, which will help prevent Fascists from crossing over from Morocco. And the preponderant loyalty of the air force should prove of substantial advantage in a mountainous country such as Spain.

Mid-August, however, saw the struggle continuing in all its gory virulence, with neither side exempted from its quota of "atrocities", and both laying claims to early victory. It may be suggested that, so far as the outside world is concerned, the winners of a modern war are those who can first reach a radio microphone.

Behind the Revolt

Since the banishment of Alfonso and the establishment of the Republic in 1931, there have been five major re-



HITLER'S PIE

Dictator Hitler to Democrat Blum: "Now then, don't stick your fingers in other people's business."

—*News Chronicle, London*

volts in Spain, three from the Left and two from the Right. Each has been more intense than its predecessor, and each has been the result of a fundamental cleavage in economic interests, a problem which has been intensified by the depression and which democratic politics have not been able to solve. The present upheaval is categorically the same as its predecessors. It is also the most significant.

In essence, this has been the situation since the elections last February: The Left Republican Government has represented a middle class point of view in a nation in which there is no middle class. It could thank for its election the support of the left wing elements of the Popular Front, which were allied to it on the negative and tenuous basis of its anti-clericalism, anti-monarchism, and anti-fascism. But it offered no positive economic program with which to pay its election debts to the masses.

When Premier, Azaña was able to hold together the diverse elements of the Popular Front. After he assumed the Presidency, however, the inevitable rifts between Center and Left deepened. Peasants demanded a resolute attack upon the evils of absentee landlordism and a division of the large estates. Workers demanded nationalization or control of the industrial monopolies, many of which were so linked with the Government that stockholders

received the profits, while the State met the losses.

Collaterally, the Socialists and Socialist trade unions of the General Union of Labor split. The milder faction, under Prieto, continued to support the Government; more went into the direct action group built up by Caballero, to the left of the Communists. The number of Communists increased phenomenally, the official group supporting the Popular Front Government, the stronger Trotskyite elements spurning it. The Anarcho-Syndicalists of the National Confederation of Labor refused to cooperate with anyone.

Strikes followed the growing demand for radical economic action. By its beliefs, the Government could not suppress these strikes; likewise, it could not appease the workers' demands.

Thus, with strikes deepening economic distress, with the Left Wing split, and with the ineffectiveness of the Cortes stressed by the tactics of the Right, the time was ripe for the Fascist revolt, planned by disloyal Army officers who had been exiled to outlying posts.

Significance for Spain

There has been a fantastic procession of political parties in Spain: Royalists, Fascists, Nationalists, Separatists, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, Anarchists. Today, everyone calls himself either a Fascist or a Marxist. On the one hand, the Army, the bureaucrats, the industrialists, the clericals, the large landowners, and the monarchists look back romantically to the "good old days." On the other, the peasants, the workers, and the small business men look forward to a future which glows a rosy red.

The two parties are mutually exclusive; there is no conception of compromise. The national interest is seen only as the interests of one of these groups. The lingering hopes of liberalism were the first casualties at the barricades in Madrid.

Whichever side wins, an immediate dictatorship is inevitable—whether or not it be cloaked by the outward forms of republican government. The Government has already learned, to its cost, the result of showing lenience to disloyal Army officers. And, if successful, the rebels are not likely to temper with mercy their treatment of the hands which have been clutching at their property.

It is too early to say what form such a dictatorship will take. The Fascists emphasize public order as the first requisite; they look enviously across the border at the Fascist régime in Portugal. The military would be in the saddle, but that is no new thing in Spain.

The Government is being defended by the radicals. If and when the revolt is broken, the workers who have fought Fascism will demand a much greater degree of economic power than they have hitherto received in return for their support. There has been reason to call Azaña the Spanish Kerensky.

The rebellion has proved that a united front is as necessary to the Left as a Popular Front. But the firm disbelief in politics entertained by the Anarchists and the anti-authoritarian individualism of the Spanish remain to hinder the realization of the Marxist hope of a proletarian dictatorship.

Europe and the Revolt

Hitherto, Spain has been left to settle her own domestic squabbles. But the present struggle is different. For Spain is but one battlefront of a conflict which is dividing, not only the nations of Europe, but also the classes within those nations. It is a conflict between two distinct sets of political values and between two groups fighting for

economic power. Consciously or unconsciously, every nation and every class is interested in the outcome; there can be no genuine neutrals. It is almost a revival of the religious wars which split Europe in the Middle Ages.

In an effort to insulate Spain, France and Great Britain led the way in advancing a collective neutrality pact between the great powers. This pact Russia, Germany, and Italy joined with reservations. It was obvious, however, that, pact or no pact, the Spanish revolt would have repercussions upon all these powers.

Russia, Italy, and Germany were the only nations able to speak with a united voice. Russia unequivocally would prefer a Government victory on the Peninsula; Italy and Germany are equally desirous of a rebel triumph.

Of the three countries, Italy has the most to win—Ceuta and Minorca. These possessions have but little value for Spain, but, if Mussolini could conclude a successful bargain with the rebels, they would mean for Italy the realization of a degree of Mediterranean hegemony beyond her most optimistic hopes. Ceuta, fortified, would destroy British control of the Straits of Gibraltar; with Minorca only half a day's sailing distance away, Italy could cut across the two-day Gibraltar-Malta route.

This was a strong incentive for Italy to jump in on the side of the rebels, and a fascist bargain over the Mediterranean islands was reported. As it was, German and Italian airplanes and munitions were discovered in Spain, while in Russia, workers gathered in Moscow to pledge 200,000,000 rubles to the loyalist cause.

France and England

Events in Spain, however, promise to affect France more than any other country. In the first place, the Popular Front in France cannot find much food for enthusiasm in the fate of its counterpart in Spain. M. Blum has not seized boldly the opportunity to entrench his régime. There is no political peace yet in France, and the main effects of the "new deal" have been to lower the value of property, angering the Right, and to raise the cost of living, disturbing the Left. The sympathies aroused by the Spanish conflict are intensifying the extremes on each side of M. Blum. If a communist régime results in Spain, the 72 Communist members of the Popular Front will need a lot of appeasing, but, if France moves too far left, England's friendship will be endangered. If the fascists win, their French colleagues will be correspondingly strengthened, and France will find herself between two fascist powers. Premier Blum finds himself falling between two stools, and his position is not made easier by having to reconcile his neutrality policy with the enlistment of Frenchmen in Spanish loyalist forces.

The British Government normally would prefer to see a fascist rather than a communist régime in Spain. Its sentiments changed, however, when it was reported that Mussolini had struck his bargain with the rebels, but General Franco hastened to give reassurance that such was not the case. As a result, England interfered to the extent of preventing a loyalist battleship from bombarding Algeciras. Presumably, her interests would be satisfied as long as Ceuta and Minorca do not go to Italy, although she would not relish a communist government north of Gibraltar.

Nevertheless, the British Labor Party was raising a fund to help the loyalists and, to show how far the implications of the Spanish struggle extend, the American Amalgamated Clothing Workers pledged $5,000 to this fund.

The principle of neutrality cannot be disregarded with impunity. Whether or not outside powers become involved in the Spanish conflict will depend, not upon any elastic neutrality pact, but upon whether or not the fascist powers feel ready to throw their hats in the ring.

A European Settlement

The reason for the urgent desire for neutrality on the part of France and Great Britain is that their plan for a "general European settlement" would be sent galley-west were all the powers actively to participate in the Spanish quarrel.

A preliminary conference among Great Britain, France, and Belgium has already been held in London. Germany and Italy have accepted invitations to a five-power conference to be held in September or October—probably the latter. It is the hope of England and France that this latter meeting will be followed by another which will include Russia and, necessarily, the Little Entente. But the five-power conference alone will be difficult enough to achieve. To placate Italy, England had to call off her anti-Italian naval pacts with Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, which were part of the erstwhile scheme of sanctions. Then Italy accepted the invitation, and Germany did likewise, presumably because of Italy's action. But her acceptance was qualified by insistence upon preliminary negotiations. That is to say, Germany is not likely to attend unless she is virtually assured of a diplomatic victory. Further discussion of the remilitarization of the Rhineland she will not tolerate. On the other hand, she may insist upon opening up the question of colonies, a point on which Great Britain, in her present mood, will not give the Reich satisfaction.

No matter how serious, these difficulties are slight, however, when compared with those involved in the final stage of the program which envisages Germany and Russia sitting around a table to iron out their differences.

Nothing would be more satisfactory than this general European settlement; and nothing at the moment appears more remote. For one essential of such a plan is that other nations should know where England stands, and the British Government cannot or will not declare itself.

Behind the recent vacillations of British policy lies the doubt of the British Government whether to side with communism or fascism. On one side of the question is the established fact that Russia is one peaceful and stable factor in a chaotic situation. And, of course, the U.S.S.R. is allied with France, to whom Great Britain is committed. Against this, there is a strong pro-German sentiment in England among those who have not forgotten that Stresemann is dead. As between a military alliance with France and Belgium and one with the Nazis, there are those who favor the latter because Germany is potentially the stronger power. Behind this, there is the feeling in influential English circles that the downfall of fascism means communism and that war, perhaps, is preferable to the outright destruction of capitalism on the continent; this sentiment was apparent in the reluctance to take strong measures against Italy.

England can avoid taking sides in two ways: the first is through the success of the proposed conferences; the second, and more probable, is by sewing up Germany in the west by means of military agreements with France and Belgium, in the hope that fascists and communists will kill each other off in the east.

As in 1913, Germany is playing for British neutrality while she hastens her

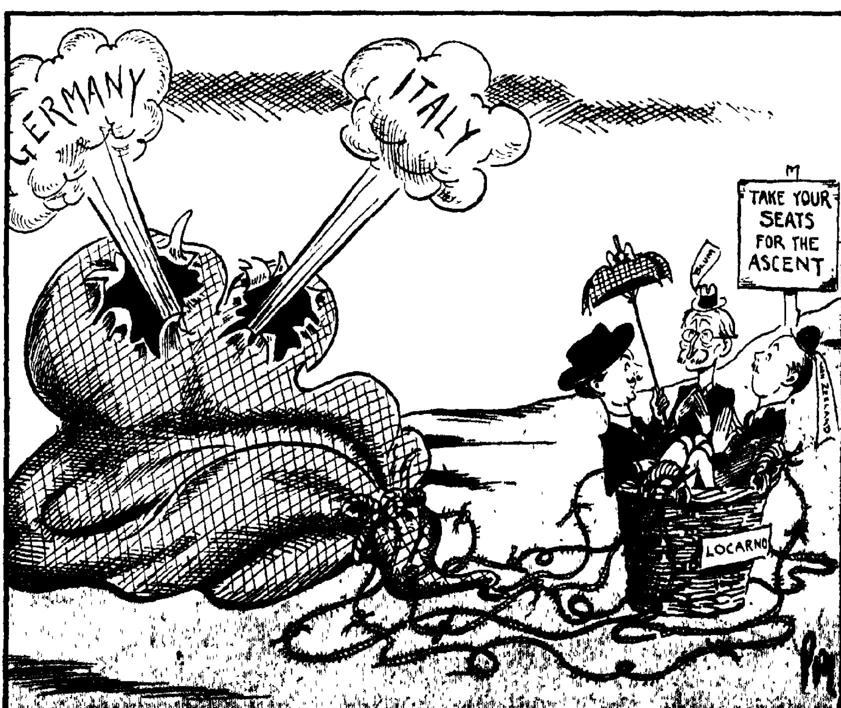
rearmament and pursues the Pan-Germanic ideal. England's position on the fence suits the Nazis to perfection. But, as in 1913, it holds no prospect of keeping Great Britain out of war.

"Mein Kampf" Goes Right On

While negotiations for a peace conference proceed, the German program of expansion on the continent continues to be run off according to the timetable.

It is clear that the result of the Berlin-Vienna agreement has been to land Austria — unprotesting and virtually unsuspecting—in Hitler's game-bag. Now *Der Fuehrer* is gunning for Hungary in an attempt to enlarge the fascist bloc. The native Hungarian Nazi movement under Count Festetics (the arrow cross is its emblem) claims a million supporters; the German minority, numbering nearly three quarters of a million, is wholly Nazified. Both groups have welcomed the Austro-German agreement, with its blessing upon the milder Austrian Nazis; both are receiving considerable support from the Goemboes Government, which is using them as a threat to political opponents.

To the northeast, the Nazis are proceeding to a *coup* in Danzig. Already Herr Greiser and the Danzig Nazis have virtually abolished the League constitution of the Free City by a series of what are euphemistically called security measures and amount to the suppression of all opposition. The League High Commissioner is not in a position to act unless he receives a protest from the opposition; but the opposition knows what will happen to it if it dares to argue.



WHEN DOES THE BALLOON GO UP?

—*Daily Mail, London*

The French called upon the League to take action, but this the British refused to approve unless the protest came from Poland, the nation most vitally concerned. 'The Poles, on their part, seem to regard the developments calmly.' And the fact that news of the Nazi move came simultaneously from Warsaw and Berlin, and not from Danzig, lends credence to the story that Colonel Beck, a pro-Nazi Foreign Minister in a nominally pro-French cabinet, is working hand-in-hand with Hitler. Poland has Gdynia; if she can get some assurance that independence of the Corridor leading to that port will be respected, she is not likely to risk offending the Reich.

It may also be noted that Hitler has lopped off another clause of the Versailles Treaty by refortifying Helgoland.

Germany Approaches Russia

There is nothing Poland can do to stop Germany. The former's military superiority, which Pilsudski employed to stop the Nazis, has disappeared. The League is impotent; the French-Little Entente system, almost equally so, although the Franco-Polish alliance has been revived. Poland has eschewed Russia, so that prop is not available.

It is different in the southeast. Little Entente states formerly relied upon their own unity, upon the League, and upon France. Today, in contrast to Poland, they do not ignore Russia; they see the Soviet as the only effective alternative to Nazi Germany. Czechoslovakia already has a treaty of mutual assistance with Russia; a project has been revealed to reinforce this with a railway line crossing Roumania and joining the two signatories. The Rumanian press has published an important statement by M. Titulescu, asking closer relations with the U.S.S.R. On the other side of the medal, Germany followed up the Austrian agreement by proposing a bilateral pact with Czechoslovakia, the purpose of which would be the granting of independence to the Sudeten Germans and cancellation of the Russian treaty. This is a continuance of the process of southeastern extension described in last month's *Log*.

It is too early to say which way the Little Entente states will jump—whether towards Germany or Russia. The point of importance here is that the small nations in southeastern Europe are becoming little more than buffer states between the two ultimate antagonists. In fact, as the situation develops, they seem to parallel the position of Inner and Outer Mongolia which stand between Japan and Russia in the Far East.

Germany's final objective is Russia. and the lines are beginning to clear in what may be the main battlefield when fascism and communism come to grips.

The Dardanelles Refortified

Following the communist-fascist struggle further to the southeast, M. Litvinov scored an important diplomatic victory for his country at the Montreux Conference.

The more immediate victory was Turkey's. She deserved it, for the abrogation of the Lausanne Treaty was gained by international negotiation and not, as it might easily have been, by force. Under that treaty, the Dardanelles were demilitarized, their control was vested in an international commission responsible to the League of Nations, and, with slight qualifications, all vessels could pass through freely. The main outcome of the Montreux conference is that Turkey gained unrestricted sovereignty over the Straights and can refortify them.

That in itself is to Russia's interest,

for the present close relations between the two countries guarantee that the Turks would not use this power against Soviet interests.

But, beyond this, Russia gained recognition of her unrestricted right to send her Black Sea fleet into the Mediterranean, while there is a limit placed upon the tonnage other powers can send there. Thus, the Soviets have obtained what the Czars long desired—an ice-free outlet in the south for the Russian fleet. In war-time, the Straits are to be opened to those carrying out the obligations of the League Covenant, or of mutual assistance pacts against an aggressor. Russia is almost certain to come in under this category. But what is more important than League documents is the fact that Turkey, Russia's ally, has the guns overlooking the Straits. And recent history shows that those guns are hard to pass.

Another Dictator

When George II returned to his Greek throne last autumn, he declared himself in favor of a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary government. These ideas were never palatable to his Premier, John Metaxas. Consequently the latter jumped at the opportunity afforded by the 24-hour general strike declared by leftist trade unions. Charging that it was a "communist plot," the Greek "strong man" immediately proclaimed a state of martial law and dissolved the Chamber of Deputies.

Such dispatches as filtered through a tight censorship indicated that there was little substance to the charge that the strike even approximated a Red revolt; nevertheless it served Metaxas' purpose.

The dictatorship differs from its predecessors in that it is neither Venizelist nor anti-Venizelist, but rather fascist in nature; internationalism and anti-militarism will be suppressed, and cabinet ministers are of pronounced fascist beliefs. This new dictatorship definitely will place Greece in the fascist orbit.

Pause in the Far East

The final collapse of the rebellion of the Cantonese Government marks the greatest step made towards the unification of China during the ten years of the Kuomintang régime. Achieved by the traditional Chinese method of buying off the opposition's subordinates, it represented the climax of Chiang Kai-Shek's consummately skilful efforts to weld China into a nation.

The subordination of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, however, has little or no significance with respect to the major factor in Far Eastern politics—the Japanese invasion of North China. Had it occurred five years ago, the Japanese might have thought twice before embarking on their policy of expansion. But, at this stage, Chiang Kai-Shek realizes that opposition would be futile. If China does fight Japan, it will be led, not by the newly reinforced Nationalist Government, but by the anti-Japanese movement which stands in opposition to that Government.

There are, however, other factors which place Japan in a dilemma. She is committed to her program of political and economic conquest. But, if she pursues it further westward, she will encounter Russia, whom she is not yet, apparently, ready to fight. If she chooses to move to the south, she will run foul of British and American interests, which are already threatened seriously enough to cause their owners some concern.

Considerations of time suggest that Japan pursue her course southward, avoiding Russia and either reaching an agreement with England and the States regarding their interests, or banking upon their absorption elsewhere to keep



SIDE-SHOW
—*NEA Service*

them out of the picture. For China today is a considerably easier prey than it will be in the future.

President Roosevelt Visits Canada

More than 10,000,000 Americans visit Canada each year. This year President Roosevelt joined the tourist ranks in the pilgrimage and spent a day with the Governor General, Lord Tweedsmuir, and Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

The trip cannot be regarded as more than an informal and friendly recognition of the facts that Canada is the United States' best customer, that $4,000,000,000 of American capital is invested there, and that the two countries share common traditions: the President expressly asserted that citizens of the United States and Canada could not refer to each other as "foreigners."

Devoid as it was of political intentions, with the exception of discussing mutual hydroelectric power problems, the President's visit nevertheless served to underline aspects of the speech made in the Canadian House of Commons by Mr. King in declaring Canada's official endorsement of the lifting of sanctions. As F. H. Underhill, a shrewd political observer, has pointed out in the *Canadian Forum*, Canada has followed within the League much the same policy as the United States has pursued outside it. Mr. King's important declaration of Government policy emphasized the North American nature of Canadian foreign policy. Expressly reserving to Canada the right to make her own decision as to whether or not she will join in any war, waged under the Covenant of the League or otherwise, he stated that League obligations could not be considered to be a "one way" proposition: European powers which had failed to enforce sanctions in Asia and in Africa could not reasonably expect nations of other continents automatically to come to their assistance when needed.

Mr. King's speech was the most strongly North American declaration of foreign policy yet made by a Canadian Prime Minister. He did not commit the Government either to acceptance or outright denial of European obligations, preferring not to endanger Canadian unity over an issue loaded with such explosive sentiments. Nor could President Roosevelt's visit be considered in any sense a prelude to a common North American neutrality policy.

However, it remains true that the coincidence of the two events marks the tendency of the North and South American nations to draw together as collapse threatens the collective system in Europe.

SCIENCE

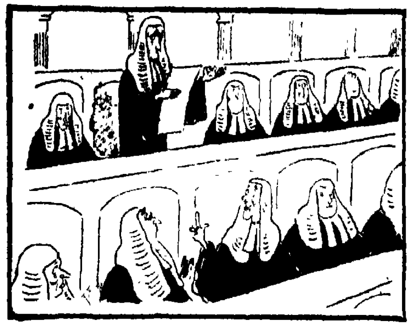
"Now that the dusk of evening is once more falling over the world, one tie remains, that of science."

(Message from University College, Dundee, on occasion of the Budapest University Tercentenary.)

The gloom of an obscene international polity shadows the most cloistered laboratory. Irresponsible men of immature reason and uncurbed emotion are fearful and are fascinated by the scientific machines of war. Recently in England a parliament of rulers discussed the advisability of supplying the citizenry with gas masks, despite the absurdity of the suggestion in the face of the gigantic cost. For the destruction of life the price would have been cheap, but for the preservation of life it was dismissed as prohibitive.

Other nations have already paraded their fear of this new and indiscriminate death from the sky. France has constructed underground shelters after the manner of rabbits and woodchucks who flee the enemy in a maze of subterranean warrens. Japan drills the population of Tokyo for the terror to come by extinguishing lights, shooting off guns, and starting theoretical fires.

Even the belittlers admit that bombing planes in rendezvous over a large city will enjoy some success. According to them a mere few thousand men, women, and children are fated for incineration, gassing, mutilation, and insanity. Pseudo-scientists are more sanguine; they predict that germs and gas and high explosives will destroy, not thousands, bût millions of the citizenry. And yet we are assured by other experts that these are ridiculous predictions; that it is technically impossible to thoroughly saturate a city with



Chairman: "I propose increasing the funds of the intelligence corps."
Juryman: "Why not increase the intelligence?"
—*Il Travaso, Rome.*

gas; that disease from the air could not become epidemic in the face of modern medical organization; that the maiming of citizens would be unstrategic when other vital targets of steel and stone are so numerous.

Last of all, the manufacturers of mustard gas offer realistic instructions: Close up the house; get into a bath (since water and gas will not mix); and then, they suggest with refreshing cynicism, "trust to luck." For this advice the citizen offers his thanks and an eternal curse upon the evil ingenuity of man. None will doubt the truth of the leading quotation—science will most certainly link all peoples at war, unfortunately.

❖ ❖ ❖

Laymen occasionally attempt to revalue science in terms of human progress. They usually succeed in perverting a self-styled objective examination into a diatribe of half truths and whole prejudices, or, they seize the opportunity to become prophets of either chaos or of Utopia. At the handiest conclave of ignorance they enumerate the sins of science; they rave; they curse; they compare the miracles of science to witchcraft and to the devil. Such is the temperament of most non-partisan, objective examiners when

they calmly examine the claims of science. That they purport to examine the "claims" is the most palpable fabrication. Science claims nothing but the freedom of investigation, and the space in which to exercise this freedom. Scientific workers minimize the most startling discoveries as normal accidents involved in a continued effort to develop a technique for exactly examining the world and its inhabitants.

Fortunately, able scientists are lift-



PAGE MR. DARWIN

—*Albany Evening News*

ing the burden of evaluation from the laymen and assuming the responsibility for themselves and for their work. From their financially subsidized elevation they have occasionally spoken with contempt; but lately they display an amused tolerance for their befuddled followers. Dr. Max Mason, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, recently addressed the members of the Sigma Xi fraternity of Cornell University, recounting the milestones of the chapter's existence in terms of scientific failure and success. Many of his observations are worth noting. To quote them:

On Technology:

"It has become a commonplace to state that man's control over the physical forces of nature has outstripped his control of himself. Technology has given him intoxicating power, and some of the results are not surprising.*** Much must be entered on the wrong side of the ledger.***The radio spreads throughout the land inanities which are listed under the title of humor, and exposes with pitiless fidelity the adolescent hysteria of political conventions, met to discuss the government of our country.***This is far from the significant and basic meaning for man of the scientific method. His real problem is himself, and a new chapter in the life of man has been opened by the realization that three hundred years of scientific effort have taught him the method and brought together a vast collection of knowledge and of techniques for the study and control of human development and behavior, and arrived at a conception of man as a psychobiological organism governed by regular behavior patterns both physiological and psychological, which may be analyzed and controlled. Such a thought would have been impossible a few centuries ago."

On Anger:

"Anger is a valuable emotion for the savage, determining quick and forceful action, but it is a poison to objective and rational thinking. In modern life the hormone response to this and other emotions, and all the chemical changes which organize the body to meet an emergency, do not find their normal primitive use. It is not surprising that the biochemical imbalances thus produced disturb the normal physiological behavior of the body and are responsible for much disease with definite pathology in modern life. The gastrointestinal disturbances were perhaps the first in which the psychogenetic factors were clearly recognized, but the list is an ever-growing one."

On Mental Disorder:

"Disturbances of mental health strike at the very center of our existence, undermining individual happiness and effectiveness, social organization, and control of our evolving civilization. Judged only by the cases of frank and disabling mental disorder, the casualties in the evolutionary struggles of man give a staggering total. As many hospital beds are used for mental disorder in the country as for physical illness. But even this is not the heart of the matter.***For every case of frank mental disorder there may be a score of borderline cases, a hundred lives of great unhappiness and low efficiency because of mental maladjustments, and millions heavily handicapped by distorted mental action patterns and emotional instability."

On Responsibility:

"Compelling and startling force is given to the thought of the responsibility of each generation for the well-being of the next. The concept of the average human as a rational being

emerges considerably battered, as we understand something of the subconscious emotional carryover of past experience. We shall have to admit that each individual has, at best, a conditioned rationality. But this is real and great progress; for it compels an objective attitude of man to himself, a search within himself for the existence and causes of his own prejudices, a sympathy and understanding for the prejudices of others, and a deeper meaning to the responsibility of parent and teacher."

On Progress:

"Our civilization can advance as the art of living is enriched by the application of knowledge won through sciences. But scientific and technical knowledge may be used to retard and even to destroy the things most valuable in our lives, if their use be distorted by prejudice, passion, or individual and group selfishness. The safeguard is to be found in proper emotional education, both formal and informal, for the attainment of self-control, and the acquirement of the objective attitude. These qualities are the essence of the scientific attitude, and are characteristic of the scientific worker when he is in the laboratory."

On Technique:

"Today wide publicity is given to new scientific discoveries and theories. There is no lack of public interest in the results of scientific research. I wish there were a corresponding desire to utilize to the full the simple lessons of life that the success of the scientific method teaches, and a compelling belief that the world could be made a different place if this were done."

On Practice:

"We cannot be true to the spirit of science in our laboratories and false to it in our lives. We cannot have faith in the rationalization of life without seeking to promote it. In that effort we must not overlook the obvious because it is so simple. We cannot follow the example of the common council, which, by motion resolved: "That the Fourth Ward Marsh be, and it hereby is, drained."

BREWING A LABOR PARTY

SOMETHING TO WATCH DURING THE NEXT FOUR YEARS AND PROBABLY FOR MANY YEARS THEREAFTER

BY ARTHUR E. SUFFERN

AMONG the numerous political alignments in the making today is a labor party. The movement is greatly belated compared to similar developments in Great Britain and other countries, but the present situation seems to contain elements promising greater success than those present when previous attempts were made in the United States to form such a party. Lessons from past failures and changed conditions are contributing an impetus hitherto lacking.

The mill of history grinds slowly, and labor parties are a grist obtained only after much refining. Obviously such organizations were not possible until the propertyless wage-earner obtained the right to vote. By 1828 it was the exceptional State in this country which retained any effective property test for suffrage for white males. Most of the original States and all the newly admitted States had dispensed with the property qualification. In contrast, the English urban and agricultural workers were not enfranchised until 1867 and 1884, respectively.

The first workingman's party was launched by trade unions in Philadelphia in 1828, and the movement spread to other cities in Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and most of the New England States. Turnpikes, canals and railways, after 1828, rapidly broadened markets, and inability to protect their wage and other standards against competitive forces impelled the workers to seek remedies by political action. Their demands were for a 10-hour day, a free tax-supported school system, abolition of imprisonment for debt, mechanics' lien laws, and freedom from prosecution under the law of conspiracy.

The trade unions and workers' parties were largely wiped out by the panic of 1837 and the following business depression. Not until after the Civil War were trade unions strong enough again to attempt to develop another labor party. This was part of the program of the National Labor Union, the first important national labor federation in the United States. But again the labor organizations were thwarted, this time by the panic of 1873 and the long depression which followed. By 1877 economic conditions were bad enough to cause a great deal of discontent which expressed itself, not only in strikes against wage cuts, but in mob action by the unemployed and their sympathizers. In fact these reactions more nearly approximated revolutionary tendencies than at any time since the birth of the nation.

Meanwhile, the Knights of Labor, which had been organized in 1869 as a secret organization, was gaining increasing strength. It not only sought to raise wages and lower hours, but it aimed by political action at abolition of the wage system and a cooperative commonwealth under which wealth and income would be more equitably distributed. It reached the height of its power in 1886, but it never attained

proportions necessary for the formation of a national labor party.

Politics of Business Unions

The Knights of Labor was gradually superseded by the craft unions composing the American Federation of Labor. They stood for businesslike bargaining and avoided politics as a source of dissension within the labor movement. The skilled craft workers proposed to look after their own welfare and leave the unskilled to shift for themselves. They took this position at a time when employers were rapidly consolidating into corporations and business combinations and gaining increasing influence in politics.

In spite of adverse conditions, the workers during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s were too strong partisans for the Republican and Democratic parties to be aligned in sufficient numbers with a party primarily designed to battle for their class interests. And the important question still is whether they are so minded. They, like the middle classes, proceeded on the assumption that one or the other of the old parties could be relied on to institute measures adequate to benefit all classes. Furthermore, they assumed that both parties were sufficiently influenced by democratic theory to be devoted primarily to the improvement of mass welfare rather than to the elaboration of special privileges. Only an honest difference of opinion as to the wisest measures to be pursued was supposed to be the dividing line between the old parties. Thus the workers as well as the other classes could very well align themselves with one party or the other.

As early as 1895, a declaration that "party politics have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor" was inserted in the constitution of the federation. This confirmed the idea held since 1886 that the members must rely entirely on the development of economic power as the means of improving the workers' welfare. However, labor leaders were too realistic to neglect the fact that they would have to seek the intervention of the Government in economic matters. They recognized that the Government must be made more responsive to popular will, and to this end they endorsed popular election of United States Senators, the secret ballot, the initiative and referendum, and civil service reform. In 1898 the convention reaffirmed the opposition of the A. F. of L. to all partisan politics within the organization, but it urged the workers to use their ballots to elect men, regardless of party, who were friendly to labor and, if possible, to elect trade unionists.

To do this required participation in political campaigns, the raising of funds, and definite efforts "To defeat labor's enemies and to reward its friends", particularly by concentrating on certain districts where organized labor's influence would count. In 1906 the *Federationist* printed the records of candidates for Congress so that voters could distinguish between those friendly and unfriendly to organized labor and could decide whether those who had received their support had been worthy of it. However, when renewed efforts were made in 1906 and 1913 to start an independent labor party, the convention of the federation definitely turned them down. The plan devised in 1913 provided for a referendum vote of the rank and file of the various national and international unions composing the federation in order to test out the sentiment for a labor party. Labor leaders seemingly had no desire to measure it, although in many court decisions the legal status of labor unions had been delimited in

such a way that only political action could bring readjustments.

This furnished an interesting contrast to the reaction of British trade unionists when they were faced by similar conditions. Following a strike on the Taff Vale Railway in 1901, the British railway union was sued for alleged damages which were finally allowed by the highest court. The result was a surprise to lawyers, as well as to the public, because it was generally understood that the Trade Union Acts of 1871 and 1876 had freed unions from prosecution under the law of conspiracy. The unions saw that the court's decision supplied a means of milking union funds every time they struck. As a result, the Labor Party, at that time existing merely in embryo, contested the old-line parties in the election of 1906 and put 29 members in Parliament. The same year the Trades Dispute Act was enacted which overthrew the court's decision. Since then the Labor Party has been a growing force in British politics.

In the United States, the decision of the Supreme Court in the Danbury Hatters case (*Loewe v. Lawlor, 208 U. S. 274*) in 1908 granted damages against the union for $300,000 and held individual members liable if they had property, provided the union funds were not sufficient. The precedent was applied in the Coronado case (*United Mine Workers v. Coronado Coal Co. 259 U. S. 344*) in 1922, and the union was assessed $600,000. In neither instance did any considerable number of organized workers show any disposition to develop a labor party as a means of freeing themselves from the law of conspiracy.

During the World War, organized labor in the coal-mining, railroad, and other industries was in a position to be either a help or a hindrance to the conduct of the war. As a result, representatives of organized labor were given positions of importance and they threw the force of the labor movement into the struggle to "make the world safe for democracy." During this period, too, the ranks of organized labor were greatly increased, and by 1920 the A. F. of L. had a paid-up membership of 4,078,740 which, with the membership in independent unions such as the railroad brotherhoods, brought the strength of organized labor to considerably over 5,000,000 members.

It was expected that measures taken during the war for the improvement of industrial relations would open up a new era for organized labor. Following the armistice, however, governmental organizations were rapidly disbanded and organized labor found itself faced with an "open shop" campaign designed primarily to smash the unions. But an adequate program for reconstruction was not advanced by organized labor and it refused to join with progressive elements in the formation of a political party committed to such a program. In fact the A. F. of L. did all it could in the Presidential campaign of 1920 to frustrate the activities of the National Labor Party, formed by various local and State labor parties the year before.

Following the rebuff of its demands by both the Democratic and Republican conventions in 1924 the A. F. of L. supported the third-party movement led by Robert M. La Follette. However, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. insisted that its support did not mean identification with a third-party movement "except as such action accords with our non-partisan political policy," and it refused to endorse the policies and principles of other groups and organizations supporting La Follette. Although the Executive Council gave this limited sup-

port to La Follette, some of the union leaders supported the Democratic and Republican candidates.

Thus the result of the non-partisan policy has been not only to divide the organized workers at the polls, but to align local and State federations of labor with the political machines of one party or the other. In Presidential elections both the Democratic and Republican parties have labor bureaus managed by a prominent union official and members of the Executive Council campaign for opposing Presidential candidates.

New Demands for a Labor Party

When the A. F. of L. met in convention in October 1935, there were many evidences that discontent with economic and political conditions had created a strong sentiment for a labor party. Suffering during the depression and disappointment with results under the New Deal had convinced many that an adequate program for economic betterment could not be expected from either the Republican or Democratic parties.

Nearly a score of resolutions were introduced by representatives of international unions, State federations, city centrals, and local federal unions demanding formation of a labor party. Some of the leading proponents of a labor party declared the time was ripe for a political organization which could accomplish results beyond the power of labor organizations. They insisted that a program for balancing production and consumption by providing the unemployed with work and by a more equitable distribution of income was the principal thing needed, but that this would not be attempted by either of the old parties. They believed that, although President Roosevelt might be ever so willing to carry out a more fundamental program of reconstruction, his dependence for electoral votes upon the South, where there is a bitter anti-labor attitude, would make it impossible for him to accomplish much. Furthermore, the opposition of Northern financial and industrial interests, they concluded, had not only made the New Deal ineffective, but precluded placement of a curb on "the concentration of the nation's income" until a Government was established by a people's party which would include industrial and agricultural workers, "the dispossessed middle class," the small business man, and the farmer.

Labor party proponents also pointed out that "the trade union movement, not only in this country, but all over the world is seriously and dangerously threatened." They reached this conclusion from events indicating that vested interests in this country are pursuing much the same policies and tactics toward organized labor as have been applied in European countries. Calling attention to the fact that opponents of a labor party had admitted the dangers facing the labor movement, the advocates asked whether leaders of the American labor movement were not failing in their solemn duty to provide aggressive and enlightened leadership by persisting in the so-called non-partisan policy toward the old parties and by not providing opposition to organizations supported by vested interests openly hostile to organized labor.

Finally, they declared that even if the convention refused to endorse a labor party, one would be formed in any event. They claimed that it already has a strong foothold in New England States, in the Middle Atlantic States, in the Midwest, and in the Far West, while beginnings have been made in certain localities of four Southern States.

The movement has received the endorsement of several State Federations of Labor, and aggressive organization is going on in many localities, some of which polled a good vote in the last election. For example, Port Huron, Michigan, elected two commissioners on the Labor Party ticket in the last election and came within 363 votes of electing the mayor. Berlin, New Hampshire, elected a Farmer-Labor city administration. The proponents of the party expect it to win dominance more easily in small industrial communities.

Those who spoke in opposition to the projected party in the A. F. of L. convention put chief stress on the fact that President Roosevelt has been friendly to labor and that formation of a labor party at this time would be playing into the hands of reactionaries.

The convention not only turned down all resolutions favoring the new party, but it refused to endorse one which merely instructed the Executive Council "to study the subject of independent labor political action with the view of taking the initiative in the formation of such a labor party."

The Pot Boils.

Since the convention of 1935, certain developments indicate that labor party adherents mean business. On April 1, 1936, the formation of Labor's Non-partisan League was announced. This is a misnomer because the sponsors declare that its main purpose at present is to re-elect President Roosevelt. However, it will not be affiliated with the political machine of either party. It is busily engaged in establishing local organizations in many States, and claims to have the backing of many important labor leaders. The sponsors have intimated that the organization will continue after election and will serve as the nucleus of a third party. The Executive Board of the Ladies Garment Workers Union definitely expressed itself to this effect on June 14, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' convention, while endorsing Mr. Roosevelt for re-election, ordered the Executive Board to take an active part after the election in the formation of a labor party.

But action has already been started. On May 24, more than 200 official delegates from 100 trade unions in New York City established a permanent Trade Union Committee for the promulgation of the party. On June 6, the Chicago Conference on a Farmer-Labor Party set up a committee to collaborate with the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and other States. This committee is composed of representatives of local labor parties, farmer-labor parties and committees, local labor unions, and a diversity of other organizations favoring independent political action. On July 17, Labor's Non-partisan League of New York State definitely set itself up as an independent labor party with designated candidates and party machinery.

The recent decisions of the Supreme Court declaring minimum wage laws and other social legislation unconstitutional have given added fervor to these proponents. They are convinced that important amendments must be made to the Constitution and that these can be brought about only by a party favoring broad social changes.

If such a party is to be developed, obviously it will have to include other elements besides organized labor. It will have to make sufficient appeal to bring in, not only unorganized wage workers, but small-salaried workers, farmers, professional people, and even small business men. Obviously its program must be broad and constructive enough to convince these elements that they have more to gain from it than

from perpetuation of existing conditions.

And it must be admitted that even if such a party cannot gain enough adherents to obtain a national majority during the next few decades, it may well become powerful enough to be a potent force in American politics. It must look for its first victories in certain localities and States where it can obtain majorities. Furthermore, it remains to be seen whether the evolution of such a party will result in the displacement of one of the old parties, or whether it will introduce a three-party system and government in State and Federal jurisdictions by bloc agreements. As capitalism grows older, it can hardly be expected that the United States will escape political realignments designed to satisfy increasingly diverse interests.

Roosevelt and Labor—MR. ROOSEVELT is really flying under Farmer-Labor colors. Under his regime Federal money is being used to give primary producers income parity with the urbanites. The farmers naturally welcome the subsidies, and, in spite of their traditional party affiliations, hail the subsidizer as their champion.

Labor, hitherto split in political sympathy, is more pro-Roosevelt than even the farmers. The unity is the more remarkable in view of the severe internal warfare which keeps Labor divided on other issues.

The PRESIDENT has won the fealty of Labor because he aims at the reconstruction of the capitalistic system on behalf of the workers. * * * His adherence to this creed has just been demonstrated in an epoch-making document. At his instigation the railways have agreed generously to subsidize Labor displaced by technological improvement. So the workers are leaving the Socialist party to those intellectuals who have just chosen as their Presidential candidate the ex-clergyman NORMAN THOMAS.

At the other extreme of opposition are the embittered practitioners of big business and high finance. They are almost solidly anti-Roosevelt. * * * Even the PRESIDENT's physical disability is made a weapon of disparagement. * * * In this hostility one lives again in the atmosphere of England in the days when MR. LLOYD GEORGE was "soaking the rich," but the atmosphere here is much more acrimonious.

The Observer, London, May 31, 1936.

SCHOOLING UNDER THE DICTATORS



Glances at the classrooms of Russia, Germany, Italy, and Turkey, revealing the new generation—several million reasons why we might widen the Atlantic and Pacific while still giving ear to the optimists.

By L. S. Stavrianos

"THE history of Europe is the work of the peoples of the Nordic race." (*Zentralblatt fur die gesamte Unterrichts-Verwaltung in Preussen*, Aug. 5, 1933.)

"The Turks are the most ancient nation in the world." (*School and Society*, vol. 38, p. 92.)

"The Italian people is no longer a soft moonlight serenader, but a people of soldiers, a people of religious, rhapsodic warriors with the mystic fire of their own faith * * *" (Mario Carli, *Fascismo Intransigente*, p. 215.)

"The witch in Haensel and Gretel was French, and the wolf in Little Red Riding Hood was a Jew in disguise!" (*School and Society*, vol. 39, p. 554.)

These, and other equally unique ideas today form the basis of the education of millions of European youth.

The importance of such educational concepts can scarcely be overestimated, especially in the modern era. With the French Revolution, education began to be used as a political instrument on a national scale, but up to the World War only elementary education was used to obtain obedience to the state, while higher education enjoyed a measure of freedom. In the postwar period, however, and especially in the totalitarian states, this distinction has been obliterated, and education in all its aspects is used for the indoctrination of the citizens. Schools and textbooks, therefore, are of particular importance in modern society, for today, more than at any other time, they determine the thoughts and actions of people and statesmen.

With the ending of the World War and the creation of the German Republic, a promising start was made in revising education in Europe by the inclusion in the Weimar Constitution of an article which provided that: "In all schools an effort shall be made to develop civic sentiment, personal and vocational activity and the spirit

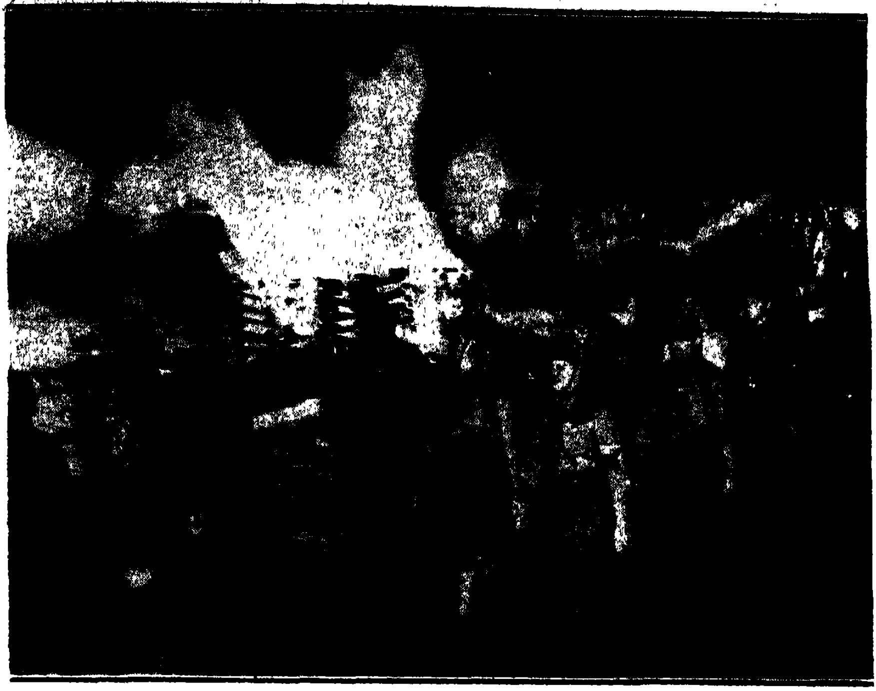
of the German national character and of international conciliation. . . ."

Unfortunately the Republic was slow in preparing new texts and many anti-republican and conservative teachers of the old régime were retained. Thus, when the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace appointed a committee in 1921 to investigate the nature of German textbooks, it reported that German military history was still dominant and that children were still taught that Germany is God's elect and that might makes right. The war was due to English jealousy, French *revanche,* and Russian ambition; the great, unjustifiable war atrocity was the continuation of the blockade of Germany after the armistice resulting in the starvation of German children; the Treaty of Versailles was one of enslavement and a gross breach of Wilson's Fourteen Points; the treaty must not be permanent! French children, on the other hand, were taught that the war was due to German aggression and militarism; the Germans were guilty of such vile atrocities as bombing cathedrals, using poison gas and liquid flames; the Treaty of Versailles was one of justice, based on the Fourteen Points; the German menace will never cease, so beware, youth of France!

History for the Germans

A situation such as this may seem bad enough, but since the accession of Hitler, it has become infinitely worse. The fundamental principle dominating education in Germany today is that of *Gleichschaltung* which might be defined as a species of physical, emotional, and intellectual goosestepping. Education, like everything else, must be subordinated to the interests of the state. Quoting from a German educational review, "Objectivity in the teaching of history is only one of the numerous fallacies of liberalism. It is not man in general who studies history, but a German, a Frenchman, an Englishman, etc. * * * We will never approach history impartially, but as Germans. . ." (*Die Deutsche Schule,* Sept. 1933.)

What a far cry this is from the Germany of Von Ranke. The full significance of these theories is revealed in the following instructions issued on July 20, 1933, by Dr. Wilhelm Frick, Minister of the Interior, as suggestions for the writing of history textbooks. (*Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichts-Verwaltung in Preussen,* Aug. 5, 1933, pp. 196 ff.) The study of history, henceforth, is to begin with the primeval German forests instead of with the Nile and Euphrates and the peculiar virtues of the ancient Teutons are to be glorified in order to arouse national pride. Emphasis is to be placed on the last two decades of German history, especially the heroic struggle of Germany against the world during the war, the "stab-in-the-back" myth, the degradation of Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, the chaotic government of the liberals and Marxists, and finally, the awakening and liberation of the nation by the National Socialists. The texts must also stress the national idea as against the international, "whose slimy poison has for more than a century actually threatened to devour the German soul. . . ." Owing to the existence of German minorities outside the Reich, "the historical survey in dealing with German history must not be limited to the territory lying within the German frontiers, but must constantly keep an eye on the fate of the brothers of our stock who live outside." The importance of leadership must also be emphasized, so that the study of history is to be centered around such figures as Charlemagne, Frederick the Great, Bismarck,



Underwood & Underwood

BURNING THE BOOKS: An unforgettable episode of the Hitler ascension. The Nazi-garbed figures are students; thousands of their books are in the flames, because they did not fit the Hitler pattern.

and Hitler. Finally, the racial factor is to be the central theme of history. Nordic tribes penetrated India, Asia Minor, North Africa, Greece, and Rome, and it was the influence of these Nordics which determined the history of the ancient civilizations until they were absorbed by inferior native races. Thus, only on the basis of race will German children learn the history of other nations, and even then the history of Germany will be the nucleus.

Deifying Herr Hitler

These, then, are the theories. As for the means of application, there is first the classroom. The school entrance halls are decorated with pictures of prominent Nazis, every classroom has its picture of Hitler, and school opens each morning with a prayer in which "the great and bold Chancellor" is given a prominent place. The teacher then asks such leading questions as, "Who at the present day, reminds us most strongly of Jesus by his love of the people and his love of sacrifice?" to which the answer is "Herr Hitler."

"And who reminds us, by their loyalty and devotion, of the Disciples?" The answer is: "General Goering, Dr. Goebbels, etc." (V. Ogilvie, *Education Under Hitler*, p. 10.)

Similarly, every week the children have to learn a saying (*Wochenspruch*) which they repeat every day for that week. Many of these sayings are designed to instil into the young minds a hatred of other nations, a wildly exaggerated opinion of Germany, and an admiration for war. For example, on the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles

the children memorize the following verse: "Versailles is a lie, is dishonor and shame, Versailles is thy death, O Fatherland! You are a German child, so think of it, what the enemy did to you in Versailles." (Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, p. 11.)

Equally significant are the Nazi textbooks used in the schools. Typical of these is one by von Fikenscher which deals with German history from 1914 to 1933 and which has been strongly recommended by the Nazi minister of education. (Von Fikenscher, *Aufbruch der Nation.*) The origin of the war is attributed to the encirclement of Germany by jealous powers and the course of the war is described as "an almost unbroken series of victories." It was lies outside and enemies within who brought about the undoing of Germany. In dealing with the period immediately following the war, the Jew, the Communist, and the Peace Conference are indicated as the main villains in the historical situation.

"Under the leadership of the alien Jew, Kurt Eisner, the revolution began in Munich * * * Then the revolution gallops with blood-stained flags through Germany."

This period culminates in an account of the Hitler *putsch* and closes with Hitler in prison writing *Mein Kampf*. In the next period (1923-1929) are described the disintegrating experiences of the inflation, the occupation of Ruhr and the Young Plan for reparation payments which "made hundreds of thousands of German workers directly, and millions of workers indirectly, slaves of the Jewish World-Capital." In the years of depression and increasing social misery, the German people are represented as creatures whose blood is being sucked by international Jews and financiers. Finally, the people became restless under the chaotic government of the liberals and communists. More and more people said, "'Aye, Hitler is right.' More and more, millions upon millions. So at last the men of the old government said: 'We are ashamed of ourselves! We had better go.' So Hindenburg came to Hitler and said to him: 'You form a Government.' That was on the 30th of January, 1933. So he became Chancellor of the Reich." To stimulate enthusiasm for this coming of the savior, numerous poems and songs are included glorifying Hitler and the Nazi movement in general.

"To Adolf Hitler our leader
we extend our hand,
Brothers, forward to the last
struggle for the Fatherland
Away with the Jews and the
traitors,
To Adolf Hitler we pledge
ourselves,
Faithful unto Death."

"... a place of light ... liberty ..."

These are ideas found in elementary texts, but the universities also have been forced to toe the line. Their celebrated *Lehrfreiheit* is now a thing of the past. The rector, or head of the university, was formerly chosen by his colleagues for one-year periods, but now he is appointed by, and is responsible to, the Minister of Public Instruction. The senate which used to be the chief authoritative body of the university has now only advisory functions. As for the students, their number is limited to 15,000 and none with "Marxist or anti-National leanings" are admitted. The student governing bodies have all been united into the official *Deutsche Studentschaft*. The Minister of Public Instruction appoints the national leader of this organization, and he in turn, appoints the local leaders, so that these leaders, all appointed from above, make the decisions. The students obey.

Finally, three extra-school agencies, the Hitler Youth, the *Landjahr* and the *Arbeitsdienst,* have been created for the "development of character, will-power, and courage"—and, one might add, proper political beliefs. From this survey an idea can be gained of the thoroughness and effectiveness of political education in Germany. General Goering has said, "Already Germany is morally rearmed." The Nazi educational machine fully justifies his boast.

Textbooks Make the Fascist

The country whose educational policies most clearly resemble those of Nazi Germany is Fascist Italy. Mussolini has neatly summed up the aim of the Fascist educational system in his motto, "The textbook and the musket make a perfect Fascist." (Schneider and Clough, *Making Fascists,* p. 110.) The methods by which this principle has been put into effect are much the same as in Germany. Since the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian War, for example, toy manufacturers have produced miniature tanks and armored cars to replace tricycles as means of juvenile locomotion. For a few cents, stock model "men" can be bought that will show Black Shirts, regulars, Askari, dubats, and shamma-clad Ethiopians in almost every conceivable position of warlike action. The shelves even contain fallen Ethiopians with severed limbs.

For those children past the age of toys there are the schools. Practically speaking, every school has been converted into a branch of the Fascist Party. The picture of the Duce and the King, and the Crucifix, decorate every room. Each school has a flag which is run up every day to the singing of the royal anthem, the *Balilla,* and other Fascist songs. Every classroom is named after a Fascist martyr and the teacher marches into the room in his Black Shirt. Similarly with textbooks, the dominant idea is the greatness of Italy. On the first page of the first primer are found the words "Duce", "Fascismo", and "Mussolini", and on the last page are the sentences:

"We children must salute the King, Mussolini, and our own great country Italy."

"Italy is the greatest of all nations."

In the texts for the higher grades, the glory of Italy, the virtues of Fascism, the bravery of Italian soldiers, and the desirability of large families are carefully impressed upon the minds of the children.

In addition, the Italian Government since 1935 requires compulsory military training in all schools. This "military culture" course includes map reading, military characteristics of terrain, Italian Colonies in relation to military problems, importance of maritime power and sea communications, land and naval battles in the World War and the military policies of the principal nations of the world.

Finally, as in Germany, the Government has created Fascist youth organizations and has dissolved all those agencies which might compete with them, such as the Catholic Boy Scouts. Children between six and twelve are enrolled in the *Balilla* where they wear black shirts, drill regularly, and learn to shoot. From the *Balilla,* the children pass to the *Avanguardia,* where, by the age of fourteen, they are able to handle a machine gun and drill a squad. At eighteen, boys enter the militia and the Fascist Party, taking the vow, "I swear to obey the orders of the Duce without question, and to serve the cause of the Fascist Revolution with all my strength and, if necessary, with my blood." (Schneider and Clough, *op. cit.*, p. 179.)



International News Photos

LESSONS IN UNIFORM: Italian school children at their studies. In keeping with the Fascist textbook-and-musket formula for learning, note the uniformed instructor, the black-shirted pupils.

We Owe It to the Turks

Rivaling the Nazis and their Aryan race doctrines are the novel theories in the new Turkish history texts. Far from being a predatory race of barbarians, the Turkish people, it is claimed, developed a high state of culture in remote ages in their homeland in Central Asia. With the climatic changes in that region, there began migrations which lasted for 9,000 years and which resulted in the spreading of enlightenment among the less civilized peoples of China, India, Mesopotamia, the Nile Valley, Greece, and Rome. These Turks even reached England and Ireland, and on their way, taught the rest of Europe the domestication of animals and agriculture. The first system of writing also originated with the Turks, while the Sumerians, Hittites, Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Jews, being of Turkish origin, all borrowed much from the primitive Turkish religion. Thus the Turks are the fathers of civilization and the possessors of one of the greatest and most glorious histories in the world.

As in Germany and Italy, the Soviet authorities use every agency at their command to attain their objectives, which, however, are quite different from those of the western nations. Karl Marx long ago laid down the general thesis that nationalism is subordinate to, and must be replaced by, the international class concept. Accordingly the aim of the Soviet Government is not to make Russians out of its conglomerate peoples, but to train them as Communists.

Kindergarten Communists

To realize this aim, the Government uses the factories, collective farms.

theaters, books, newspapers, sport societies, and the Red Army. From their earliest years in the nursery schools, the children are trained to be socially minded and this is done indirectly rather than by the preaching of principles. They must help each other put on and fasten their clothes. They must learn how to hold meetings. They are taken to the factory and told what it all means. They are not considered separate from adult society, but members of it with rights and duties.

Care is also taken to stress international proletarianism as well as social-mindedness. The new first reader for country schools opens with: "Go to work, little kindergartners, to build up socialism." It ends with a forecast of world revolution: "We workers of the whole world jointly struggle against the capitalism of the whole world under the banner of the Comintern."

The companion book for city schools opens with: "Let us organize our life and work."

It closes with: "Enemies cannot destroy our banner. We are building socialism in the U. S. S. R. and we are able to defend it." This is followed by a picture of the Soviet flag and the slogan, "Long live the world revolution."

In the higher grades these concepts are furthered by compulsory courses in history and economics which are presented from the revolutionary viewpoint. The nature of these courses is best revealed in the instructions recently issued for guidance in the writing of a new history text. A commission had previously been appointed to prepare the text, and after laboring a year, it decided to reintroduce the old bourgeois division of ancient, medieval, and modern history. Their reward was a blistering condemnation for al-



Sovfoto

TO BUILD UP SOCIALISM: Communist indoctrination begins early in Russia. The youngsters shown here are not too young to know their "enemies," to start now toward the destruction of capitalism.

leged defects plus "unscientific definitions from the standpoint of Marxism." A new commission therefore has been appointed consisting of prominent historians and publicists. The instructions require that the basis of the book is to be the contrast between a bourgeois revolution, as illustrated by the French Revolution, and a Socialist revolution, as shown by the Russian Revolution of 1917. The French Revolution liberated the people from the chains of feudalism, but placed them in the chains of capitalism and bourgeois democracy, while the Socialist revolution in Russia has smashed all chains and liberated the people from every form of exploitation.

The importance of this political education may be judged from the fact that whereas only seven millions were enrolled in schools in 1914, over 32 millions by 1935 were receiving full-time education. As in Germany and Italy, "political literacy," as it is termed in Russia, is furthered by youth organizations—the Octobrists, Pioneers, and Komsomols. Thus, whether or not one agrees with their doctrines, the Communists are today bringing up millions of children imbued with their theories and ideals.

❖ ❖ ❖

There now arises the problem of ascertaining the effects of these educational systems. In the first place, the dictatorships in Russia, Turkey, and Italy have undoubtedly brought education to the masses, even though it is political in nature. In each one of these countries illiteracy has been greatly reduced or abolished. In addition, these dictatorships are bringing up a generation of children far healthier than their predecessors. The objective may be to use them as cannon fodder, but the fact remains that, by organizing youth and athletic societies on a national scale, they are giving every child a chance to face life with good health and a sound body. Equally important is the psychological effect. It is a well-known sociological principle that man, as a social animal, is happy only when he feels himself a part of, and in harmony with, the ideals and aims of the community in which he lives. In democratic countries at the present time, due to the sharp clash of interests and ideals, this feeling of community of interest and purpose is completely lacking. Only a small proportion of American youth, for example, finds the citizenship training that it receives an incentive to an aggressive defense of democratic principles. In the dictatorship countries, on the other hand, the educational agencies have developed an intense spirit of group unity and loyalty to national ideals which makes the life of each individual more complete and worth while.

However, there is the other side of the picture and it is literally appalling to think of. Young Germans are being taught to hate and despise their neighbors and to strive at all times to overthrow the Versailles Peace Settlement and regain the lost German lands. Italian children are taught that Italy is the greatest nation in the world and that other countries fear and envy them and are plotting against them. Young Communists are told that the capitalist world is arrayed against them and that their great duty is the world revolution of the proletariat. The same thing is going on to a lesser degree in Turkey, France, Japan, and other nations. When it is realized that whole generations of future citizens are being instilled with war doctrines, the plans for international cooperation based on some vaporous conception of fostering international good-feeling sound unreal and Utopian.

AS I SEE EUROPE—*a statesman's view of an impasse, by Tibor Eckhardt*

EUROPE has got into an *impasse.* The thoughts of every man are concerned with peace; the entire world seeks it. But in this matter of a world peace ideal, the aspirations of the various nations stand in direct contrast with their actions. We yearn for peace but do everything that is calculated to lead to war. Unfortunately, this is a paradox which mankind seems able neither to realize nor to understand.

All the ills which have beset our world since the war can be traced back to the fact that, though the principles of President Wilson had been openly professed, and though the nations had clasped hands in good faith on these principles, they were kept out of the conference room where the treaties were drafted, and the line adopted was exactly the reverse. In place of the humanitarian spirit of Wilson, the force that carried the day was the iron will of Clemenceau, who had no faith in righteous peace, who believed in the coming of a German *revanche* and who set as the aim of the peace treaties the task of putting off that evil day as long as possible.

The Paris peace treaties were thus the outcome of an unbending will; out of them inevitably grew the situation we are facing today. We are truly in an *impasse,* but I hope we may find a way out.

The victor states have had, during the past years, three means at their disposal wherewith to keep down the conquered states. The first of these was reparations, the total sum of which was set so high that, even by applying all their strength to the payment of them, the defeated could not meet the bill. The first total was 135 milliards of gold francs, the payment of which was an economic impossibility. But despite the criticisms from all well-informed quarters, the victors maintained extravagant claims in the hope that this would keep the vanquished crushed. As one result, within the space of ten years the nations lost every shred of confidence in each other. This loss of confidence led eventually to consequences of peculiar gravity in the field of economics. And that is the basis of the present unsound autarchic development.

The second method employed to keep the vanquished cowed was the one-sided disarmament clauses which reduced the former Central Powers to a state of defenselessness. Their activity in international affairs was paralyzed; for the international influence of a country depends, in the last instance, upon its strength. And national strength is synonymous with military strength. The disarmed Central Powers were helpless, and therefore were without capacity for negotiation.

While we are dealing with the efforts of the victor states to maintain the *status quo* created by the peace treaties, we must mention the League of Nations which, in intention, was to have been something vastly different from what it has since become. President Wilson purposed making Articles

10 and 19 of the Covenant the twin pillars upon which the League would rest. Article 10, it may be recalled, codifies the *status quo* as outlined in the peace treaties while Article 19 provides the principle for amendment of the *status quo* as need and occasion arise. Thus the *status quo* plus its potential revision were to constitute the basis of permanent peace. But as time went on, Article 19 lapsed out of sight, while Article 10 acquired an ever greater prominence. The Little Entente went so far as to state that any political move based on Article 19 would be considered as a *casus belli*. The instrument for the preservation of peace was thus twisted out of its original axis. It has purposed the conservation of existing things but had provided for their being adjusted to the necessities arising out of changing situations. Instead of that, the League grew into an association of the victor states. From the outset rifts could be discerned in its fabric. As soon as they appeared, these rifts were hastily stuffed with the cement of empty phrases.

For example, let me adduce the question of national minorities, for the League of Nations must bear the responsibility for the sad muddle in which it finds itself today. On the proposal of Tittoni, the League had originally undertaken the solemn obligation of watching over the application of those clauses of the treaties which deal with the treatment of national minorities. But in due course there evolved a technical procedure that rendered ineffective all attempts at dealing practically with a minority complaint. This was carried so far that a state or a minority putting forward such a complaint found itself exposed to the danger of being made to suffer for its audacity. Let me cite in this connection the significant declaration of Mello Franco that the minority clauses were only there for the purpose of decently cloaking the process of assimilating minorities! I will not enter into details as to how this was done; I merely want to point out that the integral carrying out of the clauses of the peace treaties is by no means so exclusive a care of French policy as French statesmen are fond of claiming today. Two years ago, I demanded in specific instances that the protection afforded by the treaties should be given to minorities. This demand was received by the Little Entente, as well as by France, in the most unfriendly spirit.

From all of which I conclude that, just as in the case of reparations, the victor states were primarily concerned with using the peace treaties as a means to keep down the vanquished states. So far as reparations are concerned, this process has stopped; but Hoover's moratorium was required before it could come to an end.

Other difficulties have arisen since then. Subsequent to the foundation of the League of Nations, many of the member states have concluded treaties with each other, the sum total of which has led to a situation of great complexity. These treaties are of various kinds but most of them appear to me to be in essence different from the spirit of the Kellogg Pact, the root principle of which is permanent peace. Yet these pacts were rendered necessary by the difficulties inherent to an ill-constructed political world. Before the war, such treaties were not of such import as they are today; for there was then such a thing as Balance of Power. That has now ceased to exist.

The peace treaties set up one group of powers invested with such predominance of might that its impetus was left without a brake; human

nature always inclines to excess when there is no brake at hand.

It may be doubted whether even well-informed people realize how numerous are these post-war pacts; the Hungarian Government published a list of them that makes up a volume, though only the titles are enumerated without citing the contents. Let us examine the nature of these pacts.

There are the so-called non-aggression pacts—the mildest form of post-war diplomacy. Then there are amity pacts and consultative pacts. These last stipulate that the contracting parties must consult each other before embarking upon any important action in foreign affairs. Of late, a fourth kind of pact has made its appearance known as the mutual assistance pact.

I should like to put a blunt question: does there exist an organization, namely the League of Nations, the task of which is to preserve peace? If so, then such pacts are superfluous and their contents merely empty phrases. If not,—if the League does not exist, or exists only as a shadow of its own self—then doubtless these pacts are necessary. But in that case there is no sense in burdening them with a clause enacting that aggression must be defined and decided by this *de facto* non-existent League of Nations! There is no getting away from the stern logic of these alternatives.

Of course attempts have been made to agree upon a definition of aggression. The London declaration appears to reduce itself to the following formula: a state is the aggressor when it is so described by its opponent. Let me illustrate this. The present chief of state in Yugoslavia, with whom we negotiated in Geneva on the question of how far we were responsible for the fact that individual Croatian emigrants had crossed Hungary on their way to France to murder King Alexander, affirmed that this fact constituted an act of aggression on our part—an act of aggression that conveyed automatically the right to have recourse to military action!

Of all the pacts I have in mind, the one binding together the states of the Little Entente is without doubt the most characteristic. It came to pass in 1921 as a safeguard against a possible attempt at Hapsburg restorations in Austria and in Hungary. There are two points in this connection that must puzzle the objective thinker. The first is this: a restoration of the Hapsburgs in Hungary is considered as a breach of the peace, though clearly the question of who is to sit upon the Hungarian throne is a purely internal Hungarian question. Only Hungary herself is entitled to decide whom she will elect to the throne. How then can a foreign power arrogate to itself the right to consider such an election as a *casus belli*? The second puzzling point is that the Little Entente considers any Hungarian move in the direction of a revision of existing frontiers as a provocation that would justify having recourse to military action. This view is in flagrant contradiction to Article 19 of the Covenant. This is so evident that it needs no elaboration.

It is precisely this organized and inherent hypocrisy as it exists today that helped National Socialism to hoist itself into power. National Socialism is the reaction to an inefficient and deceptive League of Nations. It has been nurtured by an untenable international situation. I hold no brief for present-day Germany, but I am bound to record my conviction that when force is substituted for peaceful agreement, a nation of 65 million souls has no alternative but to have recourse to independent action. Germany today is a dynamic expression of the refusal to

recognize the moral justification for the existence of states of an inferior order, who are bound to observe an untenable *status quo* whether they will or not.

Barthou saw this very clearly, and that is the reason why he invited Soviet Russia to join the League. The result was the Franco-Soviet and the Czechoslovak - Soviet pacts. When these came up for discussion before the Council of the League, sharp differences of opinion became manifest between Barthou and the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs. It was a clash of two viewpoints, both of which were justified. For while it is impossible to reject wholesale the German claim, it is equally impossible to deny the validity of the French view that the armament of 65 million Germans constitutes a danger to France. This consideration had already inspired Barthou to found the Balkan League, which was to supplement the Little Entente as a dam on revisionist policy.

The Franco-Soviet pact is of special significance for the whole of Europe for the simple reason that its text does not bind the contracting parties to the necessity of awaiting the League of Nation's decision regarding the aggressor. This fact renders the Franco-Soviet pact a pure and simple treaty of military alliance, such as was usual before the war and before the League of Nations was formed.

Peculiar import is given to this aspect of the treaty by the widely prevalent belief, vividly expressed on one occasion by Mr. Lloyd George, that the intervention of Asiatic Russia in European affairs constitutes a grave danger to European civilization and that an extension of the Soviets to Germany would entail the collapse of the Western world.

We in Hungary have our own reasons for anxiety regarding this Franco - Soviet alliance. Hungary's historic rôle has ever been that of a dam protecting Europe from Asiatic inroads. The Crimean war came to an end only through the mobilization of Austro-Hungarian armies. We kept the European watch on the Carpathians, for Rumania is incapable of fulfilling that task. And already we are feeling the threat. In immediate vicinity to our frontiers Soviet Russia already disposes over 30 military aerodromes. That in Ungvar alone can accommodate 1,000 planes. To what end? Is it not in order to awaken into life anew the Panslav movement?

But if the Panslav movement be justified, who shall say that the pan-German movement is not justified? And if that is so, then how could Austria be prevented from joining it?

The mere statement of these facts reveals the dangers that beset European peace, and incidentally Hungarian peace. For in such a war Hungary would be what Galicia was in the last war—the theater of military operations. And this would mean the utter destruction of the country.

I should like to make another point. The treaties of alliance which France and Czechoslovakia have concluded with Soviet Russia render nugatory all the plans for a common-sense solution of the Danubian problem. Sooner or later one of the two contending forces, Germany or Russia, will try to conquer parts of the Danube basin, or at least to bring them under their influence. Germany in this respect has made no secret of her ambitions. Her dreams are concentrated around Austria. Unless the situation be radically altered, the *Anschluss* will become inevitable despite the recent Austro-German agreements. The only question is when and how the attempt is going to be made. And those Rus-

sian aerodromes near the Hungarian frontier are meant as an answer to German ambitions.

I am convinced that this Danubian problem, of which we hear so much just now, is only another fateful consequence of ill-constructed peace treaties. Instead of aiming at a modern reconstruction of that Austro-Hungarian monarchy, of which a leading Western statesman once said that if it did not exist it would have to be invented, the treaty-makers aimed at its destruction. And the work of destruction has been most efficiently carried out. There can be scarcely a question of reconstructing it out of the débris. At least not yet. But that is precisely the fundamental error that vitiates European politics today.

The fate of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was settled according to the wishes of certain political emigrants. Political emigrants are usually unwise counsellors for they are animated by one leading idea: to get back home as quickly as possible. In order to do so, they face with equanimity the prospect of destroying existing things. The monarchy had to be smashed in order that its exiled enemies might return. Historical needs, economic facts were disregarded. This irresponsible policy led to the present sad state of affairs in the basin of the Danube. Time has not helped to heal these wounds. On the contrary, the complications are growing steadily worse.

They are not improved by manifold and stupid experiments in autarchy. Miniature autarchies are surely impossible. This sort of thing is only practicable in a vast country that can be so organized economically as to become self-contained and self-supporting. In small countries such experiments are doomed to failure and can only result in embittering the lives of the citizens and in strangling national buying-power on the world markets.

These Danubian problems can neither be postponed nor temporarily patched up. They can only be solved by efficient methods of compromise. Should there exist, on the other side of our frontiers, a willing spirit of honest compromise, we Hungarians will not fail to respond. The Czechoslovak Premier, Dr. Milan Hodza, made such an overture in December last. I noted that with intense satisfaction, for I am convinced that economic settlement of the Danubian question can only be reached on the principle of *do ut des*. On the political side, pacts of non-aggression could also be useful between the Danubian states. But the primary condition for all this is that Hungary shall be able to take her seat at the conference table as a partner with equal rights. Unless this condition be met, it was useless for Hungary to agree to any sort of Danubian pact, for if we sign a treaty we must be in a position to guarantee its fulfilment.

❖ ❖ ❖

There can be no doubt that the conflict which faces the world today is the most serious since the World War. In Berlin and elsewhere schemes have been mooted for the pacification of Europe, and it is conceivable that they may afford, at any rate, a basis for discussion. But above all things what is required is to adjust peace to the natural demands of life.

To this end it is necessary that the conference that may sit to discuss Adolf Hitler's twenty-five-year peace plan and the counter-proposals which have since been made, shall deal not only with the Rhine, but also with the Danube. The problems of the Rhine have today perhaps more actuality but the real herd of danger to world peace is on the Danube.

Die deutsche Revolution

Organ der Schwarzen Front
HERAUSGEBER DR. OTTO STRASSER

Nr. 1 — 11. Jahrg. | Prag I, Schliessfach 344 | Erscheint zweimal monatlich | Kopenhagen V, Postbox 327 | Erste Januar-Nr.

Aus dem INHALT

Goebbels hat Angst

Der Kirchenkampf geht weiter

Berichte der Kongress-Teilnehmer

Mussolini in Nöten

Amerika gegen Hitler

Kongress der Schwarzen Front

Der 2. illegale Reichskongress im Ausland — Glänzende Stimmung der Delegierten

In Strassburg fand Ende Dezember 1935 unter dem Vorsitz Dr. Otto Strassers der 2. illegale Reichskongress der Schwarzen Front statt.

Es waren nicht die Massen unseres 1. Reichskongresses von Berlin (Oktober 1930), nicht die bunten Scharen des 2. Kongresses von Burg Lauenstein (Oktober 1931) und nicht die schwarzen Gliederungen des 3. Reichskongresses auf der [illegible] (Oktober 1932), die dem Kongress von Strassburg ihr Gepräge gaben. Fast alle Führer der damaligen Zeit, an der Spitze Herbert Blank, Dr. Becker, Dr. Grantz, Schreck, Simon, Bülow, Kayser usw., schmachten mit mehr als 500 Kampfgenossen in den Zuchthäusern, Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern des Hitlersystems.

Mit einer einzigen Ausnahme waren die Strassburger Delegierten alles neue Leute, diesmal den Bezirken des süddeutschen, westlichen und nördlichen Deutschlands entnommen, nachdem der 1. illegale Reichskongress in Attnang-Puchheim (Sommer 1933) vornehmlich die bayerischen, sächsischen und schlesischen Bezirke vertreten sah.

Von umso grösserer Bedeutung war es, dass trotz dieser Umschichtung der alten Organisation und trotz der beispiellosen Schwierigkeiten fast zwei Dutzend Delegierte der Strassburger Tagung beiwohnten, was schon rein technisch eine gewaltige Leistung bedeutet, da die Kongressteilnehmer aus naheliegenden Gründen nur auf einige Stunden in Strassburg weilen konnten.

Wichtiger aber als diese technisch-organisatorische Leistung war der politische Erfolg dieses 2. illegalen Kongresses der Schwarzen Front, war vor allem die Manifestation eines ungebrochenen Kampfwillens und die wieder einmal offenbar gewordene Einheitlichkeit und Klarheit des politischen Willens.

Es blieb offen, wer mehr und freudiger überrascht waren, die Delegierten über die hundertprozentige Einheitlichkeit ihrer Anschauungen und Wünsche mit dem (ihnen bisher grösstenteils persönlich unbekannt gewesenen Otto Strasser) oder Dr. Otto Strasser über die völlige Einheitlichkeit und erstklassige Schulung der Delegierten, die fast durchwegs erst nach Hitlers Machtergreifung der Schwarzen Front beigetreten waren.

Unter diesen Umständen bedurfte es keiner weitschweifigen Ausführungen, nachdem erst sämtliche Delegierten ein kurzes Stimmungsbild aus ihrem Bezirk abgegeben hatten (deren Zusammenfassung an anderer Stelle der heutigen Folge wiedergegeben ist), legte Dr. Strasser in längeren Ausführungen die Ansicht der Führung über Lage und Entwicklung des Hitlersystems dar, und gab verbindliche Anweisungen über die Arbeit der Schwarzen Front in den nächsten Monaten, unter Berücksichtigung der verschiedenen Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten. So weit notwendig und rätlich, wurden die Delegierten auch von der Arbeit der Auslandszentrale unterrichtet, wobei vor allem der grosse Erfolg unserer südamerikanischen Kampfgenossen (eigene Zeitung und regelmässiger Kurzwellen-Radiodienst), besonders Begeisterung auslöste.

Neben diesen vertraulichen Anweisungen fand die programmatische Proklamation der Schwarzen Front »An das deutsche Volk« zum 3. Jahrestag des Hitlersystems einhellige und begeisterte Aufnahme (Text untenstehend!)

Zum Schluss beantwortete Dr. Otto Strasser noch alle an ihn gerichteten Anfragen der einzelnen Delegierten, wobei immer wieder auffiel in welch unvorstellbarer Weise das deutsche Volk geistig abgesperrt ist. (Beispielsweise fragen mehrere Delegierte, ob Gregor Strasser wirklich am 30. VI. 34 ermordet wurde oder ob es sich um ein »Greuelmärchen« handele!!)

Einen breiten Raum nahmen hierbei die Anfragen und Erörterungen über die Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Gegnern des Hitlersystems ein. Ausnahmslos betonten die Delegierten dass jede Zusammenarbeit mit der KPD abzulehnen sei, unabhängig der örtlich oft recht guten Zusammenarbeit mit den kommunistischen Mitgliedern, die heute fast durchwegs national eingestellt seien und ihre Illusionen auf die Internationale ebenso gründlich verloren, wie ihre Machtträume von einer »Diktatur des Proletariats« preisgegeben hätten. — Die Mitteilung der Führung, dass die Zusammenfassung aller zukunftswilligen Kräfte des deutschen Volkes, in der Linie Jugend-Wehrmacht-Arbeiterschaft (anknüpfend an die einstige Losung der »grauen« Front Gregor Strasser Schleicher-Leipart) das Ziel der Schwarzen Front sei und dass diesbezüglich Verhandlungen schweben, wurde mit grösster Genugtuung aufgenommen. Hierzu konnten dann verschiedene Delegierte in Einzelunterredungen mit Otto Strasser erfreuliche Mitteilungen machen, die sich besonders auf Reichswehr und Stahlhelm bezogen.

Mit einem Gedenken an den vor Jahresfrist ermordeten Kg. Formis und mit dem Schwur durch gesteigerten Kampf an der Befreiung unserer in den Zuchthäusern des Systems schmachtenden Freunde zu arbeiten schloss der 2. illegale (der 5. allgemeine) Reichskongress der Schwarzen Front mit einem Heil auf das kommende neue Deutschland

der nationalen Freiheit,
der sozialen Gerechtigkeit
und der europäischen Zusammenarbeit.

An das deutsche Volk!

Drei Jahre Hitlersystems liegen hinter uns — Zeit genug, um eine gerechte Beurteilung zu ermöglichen.

Vier Jahre Zeit hat Hitler am 30. Januar 1933 vom deutschen Volk gefordert, um seine Versprechungen »Freiheit und Brot« zu erfüllen.

Drei Jahre dieser Frist sind inzwischen verstrichen — —

wie sieht es mit der Freiheit des deutschen Volkes aus?!

Aussenpolitisch hat sich das Verhältnis der Umwelt zu Hitlerdeutschland von Jahr zu Jahr verschlechtert: Die grosse Hoffnung auf Italien musste begraben werden; das angestrebte politische und finanzielle Bündnis mit England erwies sich in Stresa als eine Illusion, unverändert kühl und misstrauisch blieb das Verhältnis zu Frankreich und der Kleinen Entente, während die Freundschaft zu Polen trotz der Opferung Danzigs und des Korridors keinerlei Früchte trug; verhängnisvoll verschlechterten sich seit dem Mord an Dollfuss die Beziehungen zum österreichischen Brudervolk und die alte Bismarcktradition der deutsch-russischen Freundschaft machte einer aggressiven Feindschaft Platz, die unmittelbare Gefahren für unser deutsches Vaterland heraufzubeschwören geeignet ist.

Innenpolitisch übt eine korrupte Parteidiktatur eine unerträgliche Terrorherrschaft über das deutsche Volk aus, wirft zehntausende deutscher Volksgenossen in die Zuchthäuser, Gefängnisse und Konzentrationslager des Systems, vergiftet durch Spitzelwesen, Denunziantentum und erbarmungslosen Wirtschaftsboykott die gesamte Atmosphäre Deutschlands und züchtet so zwangsläufig ein Geschlecht von feigen Sklaven.

Kulturpolitisch bemäntelt das System seine mangelnden Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der Schule, der Kultur und

Fortsetzung auf Seite 2

Aufbau!

Leitgedanken für das neue Jahr

von

Dr. Otto Strasser

»Hitlers Sturz ist gewiss — wahrscheinlich noch im Laufe des Jahres 1936« —

»Vorher wird er Krieg machen — wahrscheinlich gegen bezw. um Österreich!« —

Das waren eigentlich die Kernsätze der Mitteilungen aller Kampfgenossen, die ich in der Weihnachts- und Neujahrszeit in der Schweiz, in Frankreich und [illegible] gesprochen habe. Diese Übereinstimmung war umso auffallender, als noch vor Monaten Besucher aus dem Reich die Kriegsgefahr völlig verneinten und dem Hitlersystem eine relative Stabilität zutrauten.

Diesmal lautete das allgemeine Urteil so kurzfristig, dass ich Mühe hatte, den Gedanken an eventuell mögliche längere Ablauffristen vertraut zu machen; bezüglich der Kriegslösung konnte sich die Aussprache darauf beschränken, unsere eigene Haltung für diesen Fall festzulegen und zu begründen.

•

Die Einheitlichkeit dieser Auffassung kann in ihrer psychologischen und politischen Bedeutung garnicht überschätzt werden.

Um sie ganz zu würdigen, tut es not, die durchschnittliche Auffassung des deutschen Volkes und nicht zuletzt der Hitler-Partei (der fast zwei Drittel der Strassburger Delegierten auch heute noch angehören) in den vergangenen 3 Jahren Hitler-Regime kurz zu untersuchen. Ganz von selbst drängen sich da zwei wesentlich verschiedene Phasen auf, die durch den 30. Juni 1934 ebenso sichtbar wie folgenschwer geschieden sind: in der ersten Phase eine schrankenlose Begeisterung für das neue Regime, gestützt auf ein fast überirdisches Vertrauen zu Adolf Hitler, in der zweiten Phase keimender Zweifel, Missmut und Unzufriedenheit mit dem »System«, in das allmählich auch »der Führer« einbezogen wurde.

Stand am Ende der ersten Phase sinngemäss der Mord der Bartholomäusnacht, so steht am — nahen — Ende der zweiten Phase ebenso sinngemäss der Krieg! — Während aber die Bartholomäusnacht die Geister noch völlig unvorbereitet traf, sind heute Instinkt und Überlegung schon auf den kriegerischen Abschluss des Hitlerregimes vorbereitet, was das stärkste Zeichen der fortgeschrittenen Entwicklung ist und der politischen Arbeit ganz neue Möglichkeiten und Aufgaben eröffnet.

•

Kam es in der ersten Phase darauf an, die eigenen Kaders von der Ansteckung durch den allgemeinen Wahn freizuhalten, so ergab sich die Aufgabe in der zweiten Phase ganz von selbst: Schürung der Unzufriedenheit, Erweckung und Bestärkung des Zweifels, kurz Propaganda gegen das Hitlersystem mit allen Mitteln.

Die Schwarze Front darf für sich den Ruhm in Anspruch nehmen, dass sie schon die Aufgabe in der ersten Phase glänzend gelöst hat, dank ihrer zielklaren und me-

OPPOSITION PAPER: This is a full-size reproduction of Nazi Germany's secret, uncensored newspaper. When folded for distribution, it is but little larger than a postage stamp.

OPPOSITION *in* GERMANY

BY GORDON REND

—proving that people just can't agree — not even where there are agencies to coerce them—and that the other side will print its say, even if you need a magnifier to read it.

ANY traveler returning to America after a visit to Germany invariably faces the question: "And what is the *real* situation in Germany? With all this propaganda, one never knows what is true."

Even a trained newspaperman or any other person who has spent considerable time among the Germans, is at best able to report only on such things as he has seen on the surface, or on some isolated items of deeper significance. That is when, as, and if, he has stumbled on them more or less accidentally.

If I have succeeded in learning a few of the less-known facts of German life today, it was due principally to my having been brought up in the Reich. And on my most recent visit there I spent my days like any native, for the most part with old friends who had no idea that I was engaged in American newspaper work. It was not my intention to deceive; yet it did help a lot when, upon renewing old school-day friendships, I did nothing to dispel the impression that I had spent the years since we parted in a small South German town.

It was not long before I met up with an opposition organization possessing no small following. I hesitate to call it great; yet thriving in a country which is generally supposed to have completely crushed any articulate dissension from the hundred-percent Nazi spirit, it must be counted as significant. That group, which may yet become the common meeting-ground of all elements dissatisfied with the National Socialist regime, is the League of Decent Germans.

My first contact with the League came in one of the South German former capitals. I was visiting a friend who, for a quarter of a century, has been one of the most efficient among high German police officials. Politically he had always belonged to the extreme right with strong leanings towards the Nazi Party. His loyalty to the Government was so well established that after Hitler's rise to power, he not only remained in office, but won promotion. This man, whom we shall call Privy Councillor X., was telling me about the growing unrest in the population and how much this was worrying the Government and party leaders.

"People are getting tired of paying those enormous taxes for armaments which are not needed for the defense of the country," he said. "They realize that he [meaning Hitler] is going to chase them into the hazard of a foolhardy war when our economic and financial crisis shall become intolerable. But worst of all is this damnable corruption and nepotism among party officials."

The subject was too dangerous for me as an outsider to make any comment. But presently the man added: "But, some day there will be an end to it. There is the League of Decent Germans. . . .

"After all, the majority of the people are still decent. And we did not help those fellows to power so that all the young good-for-nothings in the party could grab themselves sinecures and graft. They want to play soldier, but we who were in the trenches want to be on good terms with all our neighbors. And this interference with the churches is worse than the Bolsheviks."

He spoke with such fervor that I knew he meant it. And was he not the same Mr. X. who, after the November revolution in 1918, had expounded his ideas on clean government during a friendly session at my father's house? I asked him: "Yes, a League of Decent Germans, I suppose that is what we need?"

"Need?—Why, we have it, man!" was the immediate retort. "Are you fellows down there asleep?"

And so early in 1936 I learned about this heterogeneous group of men and women all over Germany who, I would hazard, are far stronger than all the other opposition put together. From that time on, I made it a point, wherever I went, to look for adherents of the League; I found them.

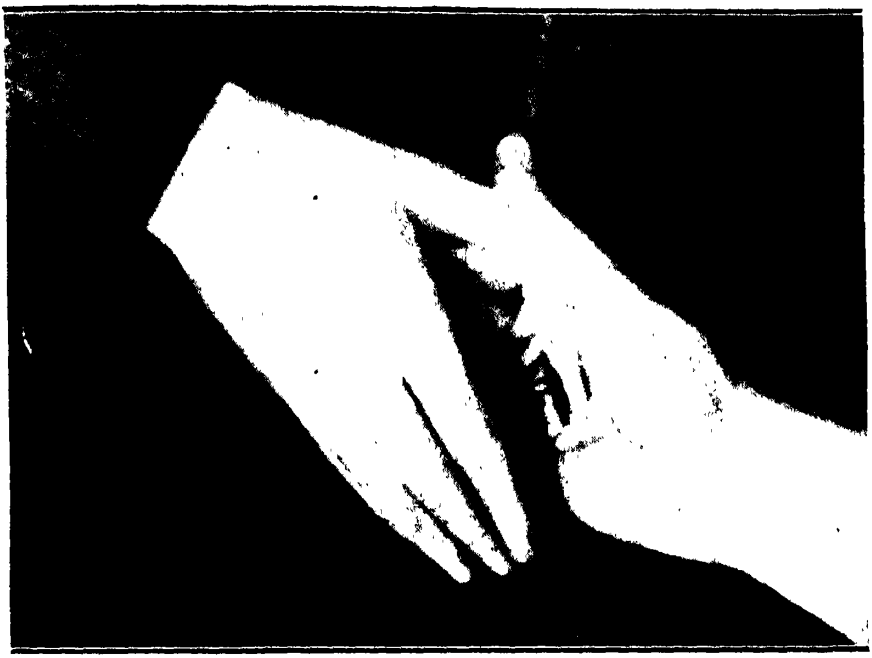
It is a strange outfit, this League of Decent Germans. Once or twice, an American correspondent stationed in Berlin has mentioned it casually in his dispatches; but nothing about it is really known outside of Germany—and, as a matter of fact, little within Germany. It is difficult to call it an organization, for despite its growing strength, there is no physical evidence of its existence. Its very functioning is outwardly only a matter of hearsay. It has no officers, no offices, no membership cards, no dues. And there is no fixed system by which those who direct it keep their followers informed.

After I had left Germany I met in Luxemburg the man who is credited with being the guiding spirit of the League of Decent Germans. At one time back in the nineteen twenties it was he who had given the Nazi Party a solid economic underpinning. His belief in Hitler's sincerity had brought him into the National Socialist camp. With the weighty following he commanded among German industrialists, bankers, and business men, as well as in Army circles, his conversion was a milestone in the party's history. But he was one of the first big men to be disillusioned after a year of Nazi rule, and he left Germany quietly.

An Opposition Newspaper

In spite of the frantic efforts of the *Gestapo*, the Secret Political Police, to suppress any seditious literature, the League of Decent Germans uses just that as the only means of visible activity. Once I had become acquainted with it, I found its leaflets practically everywhere. The day I visited Privy Councillor X., I saw the first. Only three days later in a town in Northern Baden, which thrives on the manufacture of cheap cigars, a Protestant minister with whom I had gone to school showed me the next. As soon as I had mentioned to him that I subscribed to the League's principles but that in the community where I lived we had no leaflets, he took me to the house of one of his parishioners where a bundle of one hundred was done up for me in a large cigar box.

The leaflets measure about five by eight inches. They are printed on thin paper and, as an accompanying illustration shows, are folded four times until they are about the size of a postage stamp. The type is tiny, and the average person needs a magnifying glass to read it. But small as it is, and despite its limitations, the leaflet might be called the only uncensored newspaper in Germany today.



NEWSSTAND SALE—or what you might call its equivalent—in Nazi Germany. Printed in agate type, or smaller, the only uncensored newspaper is secretly circulated. When folded, it is only slightly larger than a postage stamp and is easily concealed in the palm of the hand.

Each issue carries a score of news items about happenings in Germany and abroad which the Nazi censorship has kept quiet. Dated excerpts from editorials in the French, English, American, Scandinavian, and Swiss press follow. But far more important are editorial appeals which are written in plain language. They represent what the average politically interested German who does not belong to the Nazi Party really thinks.

"Reconstruction" is the slogan which runs through these editorials like a red thread in each issue. The following sentences are typical:

"Hitler's downfall is certain. It may happen as early as 1937. Before he falls he will embroil us in a war probably against—or rather on account of—Austria. . . ."

"Incipient doubts, dissatisfaction, and disgust with the system are rife all over Germany. Little by little even the person of the Fuehrer is regarded with the same sentiments. . . ."

"The chief subject of our thought today must be: What is to come after Hitler? The answer is a government by the people. * * * We specifically renounce dictatorship of any kind or by any party. * * * It must be a government of men from every class."

"Any government after Hitler cannot simply continue where he left off. Such a reactionary course would be contrary to what the present *real* Germany wants. And it would most certainly be diametrically opposed to those enormous forces which at this very moment are preparing for the coming change."

The leaflets and "newspapers" which sporadically—yet with amazing persistence—show up all over Germany, have a much wider circulation than

the casual observer might be led to believe. I have seen a local issue of 20,000 at Karlsruhe. From what I observed in Stuttgart, Hanover, and Cologne each of these cities is the distribution center for at least as many. In Antwerp, the plant which prints most of the foreign supply of the League's pronouncements—about half of which are smuggled into Germany via Switzerland—runs off a hundred thousand copies each time.

And let there be no mistake about this: The League of Decent Germans is not locally isolated. I found it in South Germany and in Berlin, in the industrial district in the Ruhr, and in Thuringia in the heart of Germany. Among its followers I encountered former radicals who still within their four walls keep faith with the defunct socialist organizations. In Stuttgart, I spoke to an ultra-conservative Government official who supported it wholeheartedly. In Konstanz, a German railroad conductor who lives on Swiss territory in Kreuzlingen, told me that the League would some day liberate Germany. In Muelheim an der Ruhr, an executive of the Stinnes Steel firm avowed that "the League and the Army will some day take over things."

The program of the League appeals to all classes of Germans and since January has been featured in the League's leaflets. I quote it in its entirety:

"Fight against the Hitler system with every means. Fight for internal freedom and external freedom, for a German social state, for European collaboration.

"We must fight for:

"1. Dissolution of the Hitler party (analogous to the dissolution of all other parties) and the establishment of an autonomous administration of the estates and professions as the basis of a true government by the people.

"2. Abolition of all concentration camps, liberation of all political prisoners, and restitution of the freedom of the press and free speech.

"3. Abolition of all individual German states and division of Germany into organically formed districts on the basis of historic, geographic, religious, and economic conditions.

"4. Abolition of the Ministry for Propaganda and abolition of all interference in religious and cultural life; instead we want a formal proclamation reiterating freedom of worship and conscience, but with complete separation of Church and State.

"5. Abolition of all compulsory employee, employers, professional and political associations of the Hitler system. Complete freedom to organize according to the natural conditions of the various groups of labor, commerce, industry, and professions.

"6. Abolition of the present German type of capitalism and nationalization of the German economic system.

"7. Cooperation of the nations of Europe on the basis of a federation, with full recognition of the national liberty and independence of all nations.

"These are the fundamentals for the future of Germany and Europe: National Liberty! Social Justice! European Collaboration!"

But the German people are more than cautious. It is not easy to contact the League. Yet, by all present indications, the world may one day hear a lot about it.

CHANGING ACRES



The Resettlement Administrator meets his critics and acknowledges the obstacles before his program. Then he gives his reasons . . . . .

BY REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

THE progress of America in agriculture has carried with it certain penalties. Increased farm production, brought about largely by scientific research, improved mechanization, and technological change, has jeopardized the security of the traditional family farm. It has placed the small capitalized farm at a disadvantage alongside of the more efficient chain farm and factory farm, and has intensified the competitive spirit among owner-managers. And with it has come the constant threat of foreclosure and huge increase in farm tenancy.

The problem is further aggravated by the psychology which we have retained from our pioneer traditions. Although we agree that we ought to pass on to future generations a land which is at least as good, if not better, than the one our fathers passed on to us, we have come to realize but slowly that our estate is dwindling—that approximately half of our original forest land has been destroyed; that billions of tons of fertile soil have been blown or washed away; and that many millions of acres of our land have been depleted. It is axiomatic that poor land means poor people. Attempts to cultivate poor land constitute a drain on the economic well-being of the nation as a whole. In 1930, more than one million of our farm families received, on an average, a total income of less than $400 a year each. And it was not $400 in cash. It included the value of all products on the farm.

No American farmer can live with any sense of security upon unproductive land. He may manage to coerce enough out of his poor fields to keep his family from starving or going naked. But if he has to depend on outside assistance, or if he cannot pay his share of taxes to maintain the roads which carry his products to market, or to educate his children, then he cannot in any sense call himself a self-supporting, independent citizen.

When the Resettlement Administra-

tion was organized there were some 650,000 farm families in the United States in such straits. They were living on approximately one hundred million acres of land so infertile that not even agricultural experts could farm them at a profit. Their food was supplied to them by the Federal Government and their schools and roads were being maintained out of their neighbors' pockets.

Recognition of the indigent farmer and the impoverished land was forced upon the national consciousness by the depression and by recurring disasters of drought and flood. Yet the restoration of the submarginal American farmer to a position of relative security and self-support is an essential factor in the maintenance of American agricultural prosperity as a whole. So long as hundreds of thousands of farm families live in ignorance and destitution, they will continue to act as a drag upon the rural communities in which they live, just as city slums exert a downward pull upon the culture and moral standards of metropolitan centers. So long as millions of acres of submarginal farmland continue to be cultivated, producing crops under what are worse than "sweatshop" conditions of life and labor, the farmer of America's rich acres will continue to be bothered with a problem of surplus. "Unfair" agricultural competition can come not only from abroad, where living standards and costs are below the American average, but also from areas within our very borders, where, for lack of other opportunities, unprofitable farming is carried on to the accompaniment of steadily declining conditions of life.

During 1933 and 1934 various Federal agencies initiated attempts to help the suffering lower half of American agriculture. The Resettlement Administration was formed to take over and coordinate into one program the efforts of them all. It was not an easy assignment suddenly to care for some three quarters of a million farm families who, in the spring of 1935, found themselves dependent upon outside support for a variety of different reasons. Nor was it an easy task to coordinate and revalue the half-completed efforts of existing agencies which were thrown together in the new organization.

Emergency Relief

Analysis of the situation at once revealed two major aspects. One was the problem of temporary and emergency relief for the farm population of those areas where the drought had been most extreme and unprecedented, and for those farmers who, while farming good land, were laboring under impossible economic handicaps because of the collapse of prices and the storm of mortgage foreclosures during the depression. The second problem was a more basic one—a problem concerned with chronic rather than with temporary conditions and demanding a slow, long-term approach. It was the problem of maladjusted land use, the fruit of more than a century of unguided settlement and speculative exploitation of the soil.

To meet the immediate problem of the depressed farmers, the Resettlement Administration expanded a program of credit and technical help to provide them with both the money and the knowledge to improve their own conditions. Small loans, averaging about $350 per farm, have been extended to help buy tools, equipment, machinery, livestock, and, in some cases, badly needed food and clothing. The farms were examined by agricultural experts, who then advised the farmers how best to improve their operations in order to realize the greatest

return from their land, not only in cash, but in real goods, including food and feed. Some 700,000 farm families have profited by this form of help, ranging from actual cash grants for the most destitute, to well-secured loans for the more fortunate families who incidentally are already paying off their obligations with satisfying regularity. Indications are that this form of relief is not only going to leave its clients in better homes and equipped with better knowledge of how to cope with their economic problems, but it is also going to be largely repaid to the Government in hard cash. Of the $71,000,000 paid out in rehabilitation loans, $11,000,000 has already been returned.

However, another handicap to the struggling farmer is overwhelming debt. Between 1910 and 1930 the mortgage debt on American farms increased from $1,715 to $3,561 per farm. With interest payments on old debts eating up his meager profits and with the threat of foreclosure hanging over his farm, even the farmer with productive land often found it impossible to make both ends meet. To save the farmer's home and protect the creditor's investment, the Resettlement Administration has set up its system of Farm Debt Adjustment committees. These committees are composed of local citizens who are appointed by the Governors of the various States and who serve without pay. They try to get debtor and creditor to come to an agreement, reducing the amount of the debt or extending the time in which it may be paid off. Since foreclosure often entails a loss to debtor as well as to creditor, both parties are usually glad to reach an amicable adjustment through the services of these committees, and during the past year they have secured reductions in the debts of 31,566 farmers. A total indebtedness of $102,103,000 was reduced to $76,241,000 and as a result of this reduction more than $1,887,000 was paid in taxes.

The Greater Problem

The borderline dividing the emergency problem from the more basic and long-time one, is not absolute. Both those who suffered worst during the depression and drought, and those who have been in chronic poverty for a decade or more, find themselves in their present misfortune for similar reasons. The differences are frequently measurable only in the degree of misfortune. For example, the farmer who lost his work stock and capital in the depression because of rock bottom cotton prices, and yet has a piece of land capable of supporting him, is suffering from the same basic malady as the poor family stranded on a worn-out cotton patch that never again will produce a paying crop of any agricultural commodity.

While a farmer has land, he has hope. There is always a chance that with a loan and good luck he may be able to get on his feet again. But there are farmers in the West who, year after year, have seen their broad acres, burned with drought and swept by high winds, vanishing in the black, choking clouds of dust storms. In the East, on the hillsides of the Appalachians, farmers helplessly have watched the water from spring rains and melting snow wash and gully the fertile top soil from their fields. In the South, tenants and landowners have in many places sapped the irreplaceable vitality of the rich cotton-belt lands by years of unrelenting cash-crop cultivation. These farmers have lost their land. Not even an agricultural expert could make the barren farms they are trying to till yield a decent living. And in this country of limitless horizons there are more than half a million of these farmers "without land."

Such problems of land use are com-

mon, with local and regional variations, to the United States as a whole, because the entire nation was settled under the same method of trial and error, and under the same stimulus of speculative purchase. It was natural in the course of events that the American Continent should be settled in that manner. But the tragedy lies, not with our pioneer ancestors who cleared and settled the land in the only method they knew, but rather with us, their descendants, who have taken so long to recognize that conditions have changed. When our grandfathers lived, there was still free land to be had, and their mistakes in settlement could be quickly corrected while it remained available. Already in many of the older portions of the United States, agriculture has approached a satisfactory self-adjustment to modern conditions. But it could not have done so without the dual safety valves of free western land, and an increasing demand for industrial labor which facilitated the movement of population.

It was in our more recent past that the truly unforgivable mistakes were made. The settlement of most of the dry western lands which have yielded so large a portion of our agricultural distress took place during the 1920s with high wheat prices as impetus. It was during this century that the destruction of timber resources and the speculative sale of unproductive farms filled the denuded forests with stranded dependents upon public and private charity. It was not until 1934 that the Federal Government finally recognized its culpability, and replaced the outmoded homestead law, under which thousands of families yearly plotted their own disaster, with the Taylor Act which embodies a policy of reserving the remaining public domain for uses for which the land is fitted.

Today we are burdened with an uneconomic segment of our farm population which is incapable of self-support, and promises, unless something is done about it, to continue retarding the economic progress of the nation. The 100,000,000 acres of farmland which these families still occupy in fruitless endeavor, form a twilight zone which heretofore has had little or no recognition among Government land agencies. Without the financial resources, the skill, and the tillable land, the farmers have not been able to profit by the research and new technical development of the Department of Agriculture. As occupied lands, and classified as farms, these acres, for the most part, have been outside the sphere of activity of such agencies as the Forest Service, or the State conservation bodies.

As an initial program, the Resettlement Administration is undertaking 208 demonstration projects involving the purchase of more than 9,000,000 acres of this land. The aim is, first, to help bring the farm families now occupying these tracts into the realm of successful agriculture by aiding them to acquire better farms. Second, the Administration is restoring the land itself to productivity by converting the worn-out and idle fields into forests, recreation areas, grazing districts, and wild-life refuges. In the East, most of the purchased areas are being developed for a combination of purposes, including timber production, wild-life restoration, and public recreation. In the Great Plains and the dry areas of the inter-mountain plateaus, the lands for the most part are being rededicated to grazing use, with sufficient control to insure the permanent protection of the grass.

From a national viewpoint, the justification for this program lies not merely in alleviating the suffering and distress of several million people. The fact that the average net income of the fam-

ilies living on the lands selected for purchase by the Resettlement Administration amounted to $84 for the year 1935, is significant of the desperate poverty in which these people live. But purchase of this land, and resettlement of the people now on it is further necessitated by the constant costs which the condition of these families inflicts upon both local and national government.

Farms on land that cannot productively be farmed only hinder the proper and worth-while use of the land. In the Appalachian Mountains, for example, the existence of numerous small farms scattered throughout mountains and coves makes it impossible to restore a forest crop, for which unified ownership is necessary. Numerous small cultivated fields, lasting frequently only three or four years before the soil is wasted by rapid erosion, stand in the way of a reforestation program. In a similar way, the dry land homesteads of the Western Plains, while exposing the land to wind erosion, prevent the unification of large enough areas of pasture to constitute economic cattle units.

Cost of Poor Land

Numerous instances have been brought to light of the excessive costs which the occupancy of poor land has caused. An extreme example is a county in Northern Minnesota where 28 families, living on isolated and unproductive farms, required the county to spend an average of $185 per family annually merely for the transportation of the children to and from school. At the same time these families paid an average tax of only $10.80 per year. Similar conditions in the cutover forest region of the Great Lakes have brought many counties to the verge of bankruptcy. There is no sound solution to the problem unless a better method of land use is instituted.

Public relief is another element in the subsidies afforded the submarginal farm areas. In three counties in a Western Plains State it is reported that during the years 1930 to 1935 approximately $7,000,000 was spent by public and private relief and rehabilitation agencies. Most of this money went into the hands of families living on dry farms which produced a crop only once in four years, or to the small communities dependent upon these farms. Insofar as this is true, the money cannot hope to be recovered, and the effect of the expenditures has been only to prolong the misery of the families for whom there is no hope of success.

Appraising the Program

Resettlement itself has been greatly misunderstood and misinterpreted. It has been pictured as a kind of forced removal of families from familiar haunts and homes, whereas actually it is, of course, like the land purchase program with which it is connected, entirely voluntary. No family is forced to sell its home, nor is any family forced to accept the Government's resettlement plans. The Southern mountaineer, and the drought-stricken farmer of the West have alike been pictured as unwilling to leave their homes for new lands offered through governmental mediation. The fact of the matter is that more people press the Government for an opportunity to resettle than can be economically cared for.

The real hazards of resettlement have little to do with the unwillingness of anyone to cooperate in a plan. There are hazards, nevertheless, for in this phase of work the Government comes hard up against intangible aspects of human psychology. Frankly, there was no example of governmental land settlement completely successful in every way in the United States before 1933, and the projects launched in that year

have not yet proved their worth one way or the other. But there have been tremendously successful land settlement programs in other lands. The Irish Free State converted its farm population from one of tenants to one of landowners by a system of governmental resettlement. It can be done, and there is no reason under the sun why the American people, with their wealth of good land resources, cannot succeed if proper intelligence is applied to the task.

Recognizing these difficulties, and the unfavorable aspect which precedents have set for it, the Resettlement Administration has proceeded with the utmost caution in launching its resettlement projects. Each one has been carefully planned, and all factors checked, from the quality of its soil to the types of buildings. Moreover, each family is investigated to determine its abilities, and its evidences of being able to make a success out of its new opportunity. The RA is now initiating rural resettlement projects which involve new homes for 8,000 families, throughout the United States. It is a small program in relation to the national need, but its success will be measured in larger terms, for it will lay the basis for possible future action on a broader scale.

Resettlement takes different forms. In some cases it will mean merely locating separate good farms which the occupants of poor land may acquire with Government credit. In the other extreme, it means the subdividing of large tracts of land, and the erection of homes, farm buildings, and the commercial and public establishments necessary to a whole new community. The latter method makes possible certain economies in construction and utilities that are impossible in a more scattered type of settlement, while the closer grouping of families facilitates the future development of cooperatives if such are desired. In many cases the new farm homes are located within short distances of the unproductive lands where the families have been living, particularly in the eastern portion of the United States where land conditions frequently vary more strikingly from one township to the next.

In any case, it is rare that the land purchase and resettlement program means anything like the evacuation or depopulation of a complete area. First, the land areas are rarely solidly good or solidly bad. Second, the new use of the land is usually associated with some form of human labor. Western grazing lands will create opportunities for stockmen who wish to lease the pasture through cooperative associations. Eastern forest lands will demand the seasonal labor of woodsmen, who can combine their forest work with part-time farming, as has been successfully demonstrated in the past. Recreation areas, established near larger centers of population, will also bring tourists and campers, to whose needs local people can cater. The possibilities for fullest use of the land is taken into account in all plans for resettlement, so that the necessity for families to move completely into new environments and to take up new types of farming is reduced to a minimum.

Varying local conditions, of soil, climate, and prevalent type of farming as well as varying abilities of resettlement families, dictate different details for each of the Resettlement projects. However, one factor common to all is that the money invested in them by the Government will be repaid. Most of the farms are to be amortized on a 40-year basis, at 3 percent interest. The recent passage of the Black-Bankhead Act authorizing the Resettlement Administration to make payments to local governments in lieu of taxes, gives assur-

ance that the resettlement farms will continue to assume their normal share of Government costs.

Every now and then a statement appears from some learned pen to the effect that the retirement of some million or more farms from cultivation would alone solve the American farm problem. The efforts of the Administration to promote a balance between agricultural demand and production are attacked as impractical approaches to the fundamental problem of adjusting population to land resources.

A simple thought, indeed, this idea to retire from use all the surplus acreage in poor farms. But there are powerful reasons why no such program can be accepted as having immediate practical value, however desirable it may be as an ultimate objective. No simple program of retiring a million farms from cultivation can serve as a remedy so long as the men and women who live on them have no better economic opportunities. We need, therefore, not a simple reduction in the area of cultivated lands, but an adjustment in the method of its use. Land resources, for the immediate future, must continue to support a greater number of people than would be necessary under conditions of rapid industrial expansion.

This adjustment of land and population in the United States requires more than a physical rearrangement of farms, forests, and cattle range. It demands above all the development of a new attitude towards land. In the past we have looked upon it as a subject of speculation, and income from land has been measured largely in terms of increased capital value. Conservation finds little room in this point of view, and the consequences have been the uneconomic waste of forests, grasses, and soil which has by now become a familiar story. A new attitude is necessary in which permanence will replace speculation, conservation will replace waste, wise use will replace exploitation.

A simple example will serve to show how broad the need for education is. Annually there come into the hands of the various States, large areas of tax delinquent land which have proved worthless to their owners. In most cases, the first action taken by the State Governments is to return this land by sale to private ownership. No recognition is accorded the fact that the land has already gone out of private ownership for economic reasons, or that if placed in permanent public care, it might again be restored to public value. The development of more intelligent methods of handling tax delinquent lands is but one way in which the States could help attain a better adjustment of land and population. Rural zoning is another. The guidance of private settlement, and the supervision of credit facilities in the light of land classification are additional ones. In time they should replace Federal purchase as the most effective and economical way of correcting abuses. In the meantime, someone must take the lead, point out what the basis of our land problem is, and chart a course towards a permanently productive use of land in relation to the many aspects of human life with which the use of land is associated. The extent of the problem and its national character necessitate that this be a Federal undertaking. In that essential task the Resettlement Administration is playing a new and important part.



NORRIS DAM: "A free people cannot permanently submit to the private monopoly of a necessity of life," Senator Norris often declared. The dam is one much-challenged expression of his sentiments.

The Government's hydroelectric plants, as brought into politics

POWER *as an* ISSUE

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

DOCUMENT No. 127 of the American Liberty League recently declared: "Injurious effects upon private utility companies operating in the TVA area are indisputable * * * The movement toward socialization of the electric power industry is an attack upon the American system of government. Its support comes from those who would abandon our institutions in favor of some form of collectivism. In the interest of the preservation of the American system the trend should be checked."

Swift to reply was Bob and Phil La Follette's Wisconsin *Progressive:* "The big private utilities hate the TVA because the TVA is showing them up in this business of electrification. It is providing a yardstick that is knocking the props out from under their old ballyhoo about the efficiency and efficacy of private ownership. It is bringing about a national realization that the benefits of electricity have been withheld from the people through the greed of the private power bosses."

Here is a relatively new issue on the American political horizon. With the possible exception of relief, the power question is the most recent problem to loom over the skyline of Presidential campaigning. The tariff, international relations, farm assistance, patronage, and the money system are comparatively traditional—but not the hydroelectric issue. As a major controversy, it is only 15 years old.

This is scarcely the embryonic age in an era in which statesmen solve political riddles by reciting what George Washington or Thomas Jefferson had to say on the same problems a century and a half ago. Power first intruded forcibly into the national vision in 1921, when Henry Ford submitted his famous offer to buy the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals, and George W. Norris of Nebraska took the floor of the Senate to protest against acceptance of Mr. Ford's proposal. But if this episode suckled the power issue, it is the New Deal which threatens to take the question out of the nursery and install it forever in the political playground. Until Mr. Roosevelt entered the White House, Senator Norris and his adherents were only a small bloc in Congress, annoying the private utilities but not necessarily alarming them. Merely a minority expression was the Senator's oft-repeated: "A free people cannot permanently submit to the private monopoly of a necessity of life." Now the Liberty League laments that this philosophy has been endorsed by the President of the United States. Document No. 127 of the League's an-

nouncements stated that Senator Norris's "activities and theories as the chief sponsor of the TVA have had the complete approval of the Roosevelt Administration."

The contention that the power advocacies of Senator Norris have been accepted at the White House epitomizes in some degree the sharp line of demarcation dividing opinion on the hydroelectric issue. The Senator from Nebraska is a positive character who has his cohorts and his adversaries, and accordingly, they view the New Deal's power program from two widely divergent perspectives. On no other question of the campaign is the difference of thought between those on the economic left and those on the economic right so clear-cut. The cleavage is as apparent as a mountain-range. Asset or Liability?

Mr. Roosevelt has received more hosannas from radicals because of his power theories than for all other New Deal acts combined. Political insurgents have applauded the hydroelectric plans in general, and the Tennessee Valley Authority in particular, as the best asset of his administration. Even Mr. Norman Thomas, who is carrying the Socialist standard in the Presidential race, has praised the TVA without reservation. In Congress the progressives in both parties—Nye, Maverick, Borah, Lemke, Costigan—have been as quick to support White House "must" legislation liquidating surplus utility holding companies as the conservatives — Glass, Snell, Steiwer, Tydings, Dieterich — have been to oppose it. So far as power control and development are concerned, the President has the backing of the left and the unmitigated opposition of the right. The Liberty League believes the TVA is socialism. Stuart Chase claims it is the Roosevelt régime's paramount achievement.

What is the New Deal power program which has so sharply split political and economic sentiment? What are its principal features, and what will be the consequences? To begin with, notice must be taken of the fact that no administration ever embarked upon a peace-time undertaking of similar magnitude. At various strategic sites throughout the nation, sixteen major dams are under construction. Preliminary work has been started on six others. The total investment in these projects will reach almost $1,000,000,000. Horsepower of more than six million will be generated. Corollary developments in navigation, flood-control, reforestation, national defense, and irrigation also will take place. Here is an elaborate plan to remake the face of America: to divert rivers from the courses they have followed for centuries; to create artificial lakes; to transform swirling rapids into kilowatts of electric energy; to reinforce hillsides crumbling under soil erosion. It is a program with unquestionable dramatic appeal. As was pointed out in CURRENT HISTORY'S *Log of Major Currents* for June, this vast power system—particularly in the South and in the Far West—intrigues the popular imagination. It symbolizes to millions of Americans a modern argosy of steel and concrete on the frontiers where once the argonauts of another era wrote a saga of buckskin and long rifles.

Power Program in the South

In the South must begin any analysis of Mr. Roosevelt's hydroelectric maneuvers. The keystone of the New Deal power arch is located in the basin of the Tennessee River system. This watershed cutting across seven States—Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Kentucky,

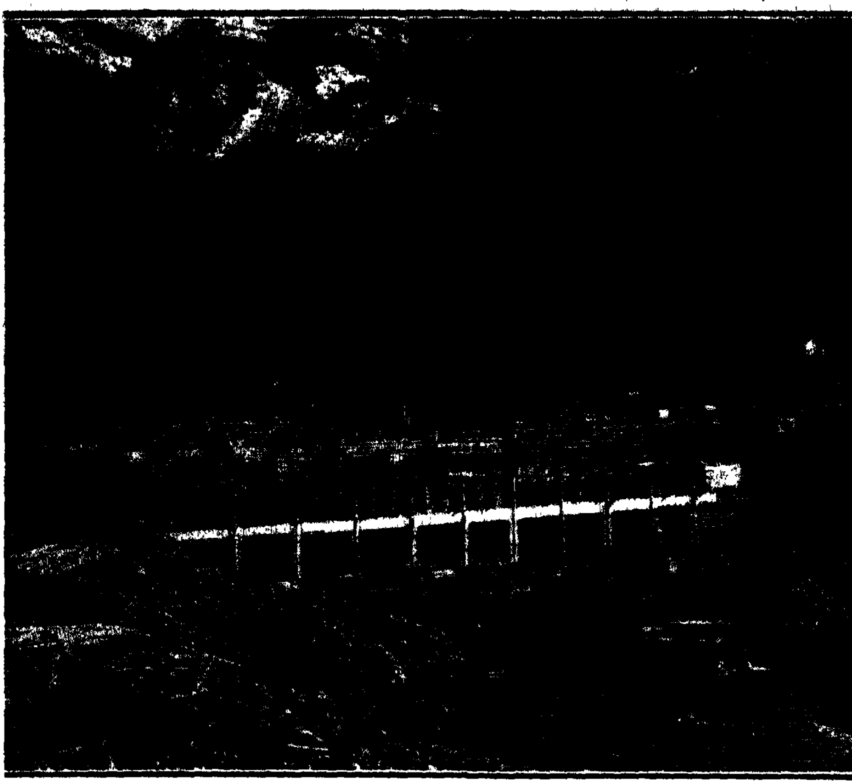
Virginia, Mississippi—is the site of the Federal Government's operation of an unprecedented experiment in regional planning: the Tennessee Valley Authority. Unique in the annals of the nation is the TVA. It represents a carefully-planned attempt to conserve, develop, and control the basic resources of 40,000 square miles of territory. In the heart of Dixie, more than 13,000 Government employees are working on a program which ultimately will see seven giant dams spanning the Tennessee River and its tributaries. Advocates of the TVA believe these projects will make "the more abundant life" become a vivid reality for the Valley's two and one half million inhabitants, three fourths of whom are either farmers or the residents of rural communities.

At present the TVA's only source of energy is the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals, built to meet wartime demands. Under construction are the Norris, Wheeler, Pickwick Landing, Guntersville, and Chickamauga Dams. The Norris and Wheeler Dams—named after the Senate's most implacable foes of the private utility companies—will be completed this year. In 1937 work will be started on projects at Fowler Bend and Coles Bar. These dams will generate an ultimate capacity of 1,326,000 kilowatts of hydroelectric power. This is more than half the capacity of all the municipal utility plants in the nation combined. And yet it is not power which is listed as the primary purpose of the TVA. The major function of every dam in the Valley is recorded by the Federal Power Commission as some service other than the production of hydroelectric energy. Here is the crux of one of the principal controversies of the power question.

For Power or Navigation?

Wilson Dam was built for national defense. Navigation and flood-control are set down as the paramount reasons for the construction of projects at Norris, Pickwick Landing, and the other sites. Private utility executives opposing the TVA claim this is an inexcusable subterfuge. They contend that power is not listed as the purpose of the dams, because the Supreme Court then would hold the TVA unconstitutional for taking away property without due process of law. The 8-to-1 decision early this year giving TVA the right to dispose of the surplus power at Wilson Dam was predicated on the fact that the dam's chief service is defense. In view of the Government's unquestioned right to improve navigation and prevent floods, this decision would seem to clear the way for the sale of power at every unit of the TVA. Yet Stuart Chase, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the New Deal's hydroelectric program, has admitted that "navigation is probably the least important aspect * * * of the well-being of the * * * Valley."

Adversaries of the TVA charge that the production of power is the actual primary function of the Norris and Wheeler Dams. The Liberty League has declared that, behind the protecting camouflage of navigation and flood-control, the electric power industry is being "socialized." These groups have pointed out the assertedly ridiculous feature of listing Bonneville Dam—in the Cascade Mountains of Oregon—as principally a navigation enterprise. With the Supreme Court in its present temper, foes of Mr. Roosevelt's hydroelectric program believe the Government is afraid to list power as the chief purpose of the dams now under construction.



BONNEVILLE: Opposition forces say the Oregon project is designed to produce power in an area where it already abounds.

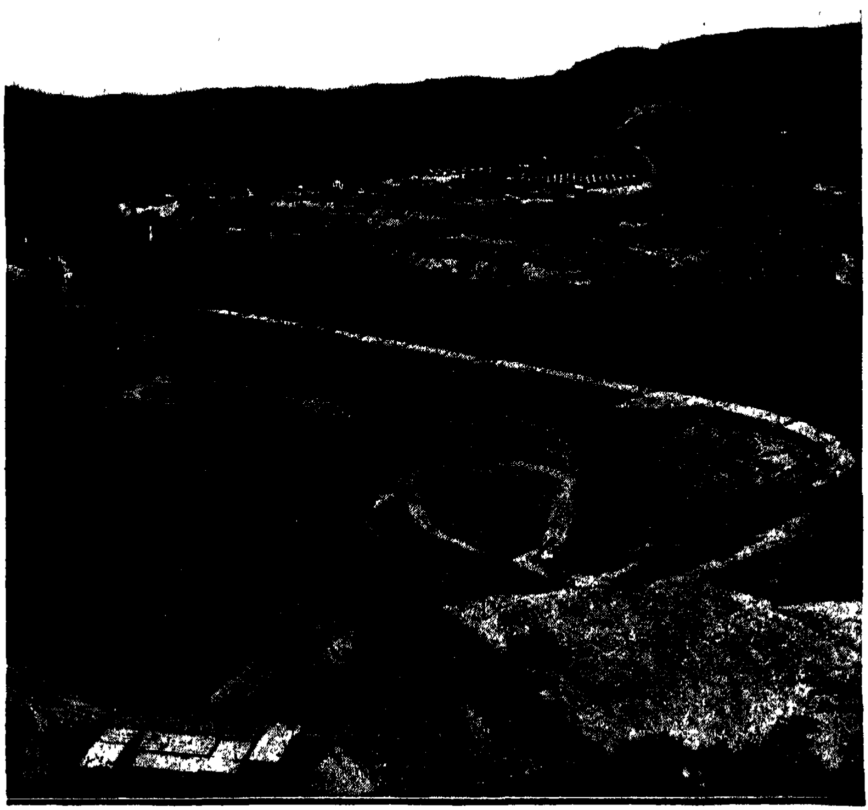
The answer to this line of attack has been a review of the progress made by the TVA. Senator James P. Pope of Idaho recently claimed that because of "TVA service in the areas in which it operates, rates are from 50% to 60% of what they were before." He quoted the *New York Times* as reporting: "Throughout the turbulent conditions in the utility field, last year the Commonwealth and Southern group, the principal system affected by the TVA, sold $15,000,000 worth of electrical appliances, a new high record." Congressman John E. Rankin of Mississippi has charged: "A householder under the TVA rates pays $8.90 for 1,000 kilowatt-hours a month, which formerly cost him $66.10 under the power company rates in effect in the Muscle Shoals area at the time the TVA was created. [CURRENT HISTORY, May 1935.] The Commonwealth and Southern wants to destroy the TVA so that it can impose those outrageous rates again." David E. Lilienthal, director of the TVA, has pointed to the fact that there also have been benefits in improved agriculture, the prevention of floods and soil ero-

sion, as well as in a far wider home and farm use of electricity.

Western Program

Almost a continent removed from the TVA, a similar controversy is pending. On the Columbia River, described by Army engineers as North America's potentially greatest source of hydroelectric power, the Government is constructing two dams destined to generate more energy than all seven units in the Tennessee Valley. These projects are the Grand Coulee Dam in eastern Washington, and the Bonneville Dam in western Oregon. Approximately 300 miles of churning water separates the two undertakings. Bonneville is 150 miles above where the Columbia pours into the Pacific Ocean. Grand Coulee is an equal distance below the Canadian border.

When Mrs. Roosevelt looked on Grand Coulee in the summer of 1934, she exclaimed, "It was a good salesman who sold this to Franklin!" Statistics are generally uninteresting but they tell a remarkable story at Grand Coulee. The ultimate High Dam, to cost almost $200,000,000, will be the most massive structure ever built by man. It will be four times the



GRAND COULEE: "It was a good salesman who sold this to Franklin!" Mrs. Roosevelt exclaimed.

length of the giant Boulder Dam on the Colorado River. Containing 10,000,000 cubic yards of concrete, it will surpass in bulk the great Pyramid of Egypt. Grand Coulee will tower 550 feet above bedrock; it will be 500 feet thick at the base and will measure 4,300 feet along the crest. The dam will create an artificial lake 151 miles long, extending as far north as Canada; it will irrigate 1,200,000 acres, now arid, but potentially rich and fertile.

In the Far West, as in Dixie, there are two sharply divided camps of opinion. Congressman Francis Culkin of the State of New York has described Grand Coulee as "a vast area of gloomy tablelands interspersed with deep gullies. The project has been condemned by the National Grange and other agricultural groups. * * * In the region of the Grand Coulee there is no one to sell the power to except coyotes and jack-rabbits. Grand Coulee is that colossal imposition upon the American people." Philip H. Gadsden and other utility executives have charged that both Bonneville and Grand Coulee will produce large blocs of electric energy in a region which already has a "superabundance" of power. Gadsden also has bitterly attacked the suggestion of Senator Pope that Bonneville and Grand Coulee be administered by an authority similar to the TVA.

President Roosevelt Replies

Let the President reply to these sorties: He believes the Columbia River basin, a vast area containing 13% of the nation's land and only 3% of the people, is a region of the future. He hopes to see Grand Coulee and Bonneville provide irrigation and power for millions of settlers from the crowded tenements and slums of the East. Standing at Grand Coulee two years ago, Mr. Roosevelt declared: "You have acreage capable of supporting a much larger population than you now have. And we believe that by proceeding with these great projects it will not only develop * * * the Far West and the Coast, but will also give an opportunity to many individuals and many families back in the older, settled parts of the nation to come out here and distribute some of the burdens which fall on them more heavily than they fall on the West."

The arguments, discussions, and claims applicable to the Tennessee Valley and the Columbia Basin are also relevant to the other New Deal dams. Boulder Dam, listed primarily as an irrigation project, will generate 1,317,500 kilowatt hours of electricity—more than any other single enterprise except Grand Coulee. The third most prolific producer of power will be Bonneville Dam, located where the Columbia foams through the Cascade Mountains and begins its last rush to tidewater. Ironically, the only Government dam listed by the Federal Power Commission as being principally a hydroelectric undertaking was the Passamaquoddy Bay project in Maine. It was recently abandoned as unsound and impractical.

The construction of dams is not the New Deal's only adventure in the power arena. The President recently signed the Norris-Rayburn bill providing for a rural electrification program which eventually will appropriate more than $400,000,000 for transmission lines in rural areas. Funds from the Public Works Administration also have been loaned to finance publicly owned power plants and distribution systems. The legality of, this procedure was upheld not long ago by Chief Justice Alfred A. Wheat of the District of Columbia Supreme Court. Another hydroelectric maneuver of the

Roosevelt Administration has been the attack on utility holding companies. In Congress the President's demand for the famous "death sentence" clause was defeated by rebellious conservative Democrats, but even in modified form the holding company bill has been the target of bitter court attacks by the private utilities. At present several suits are pending against it.

In his 1932 campaign for the Presidency, Mr. Roosevelt promised the country to launch Federal development of strategic power sites in the South and on the Columbia River. He declared: "We shall forever have a national yardstick to prevent extortion against the public and to encourage the wider use of that servant of the people—electricity." He still looks upon the dams at Bonneville, Norris, Boulder, Fort Peck, Montana, and other localities as "yardsticks" to determine a fair rate basis. He has assured the private companies that: "As a broad general rule, the development of utilities should remain, with certain exceptions, a function for private initiative and private capital." But the "with certain exceptions" reservation has made utility executives extremely jittery — especially when they see whispering into the President's ear such militant supporters of public ownership as Senators Norris, Wheeler, and La Follette.

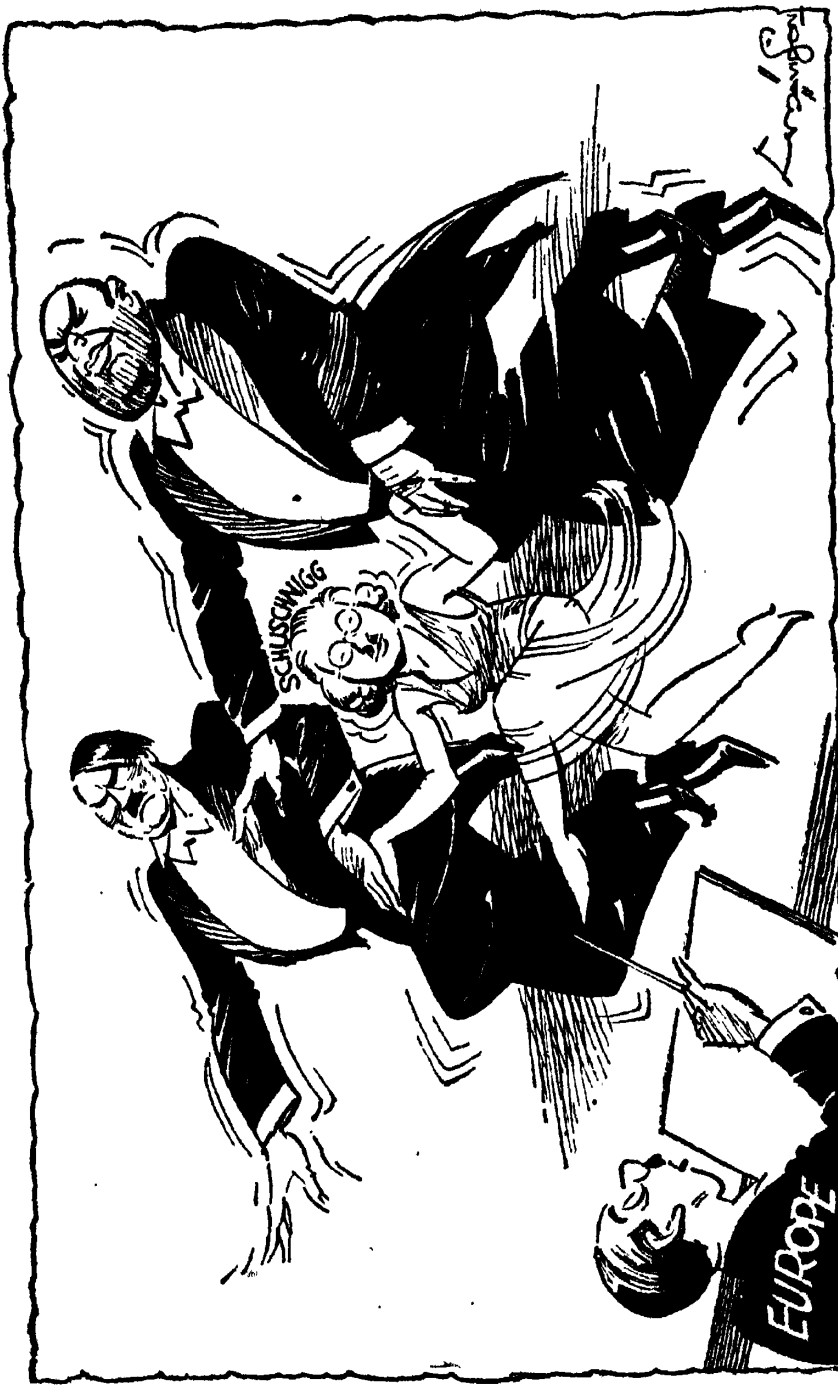
Briefly summarized, the two sides of the New Deal's power program may thus be regarded:

Attack: A system designed for hydroelectric power has been camouflaged, to fool, the courts, as a program of navigation, irrigation, and flood-control. If the Federal Government goes into the power business, there is no limit to where it will stop; it may eventually use this privilege as the opening-wedge for state socialism. Citizens all over the nation are paying taxes to provide for public power experiments in a few chosen areas. Innocent investors face loss of their savings through a program which may ultimately bring about the collapse of all utility stocks.

Defense: The TVA has already increased the use of electricity and electrical appliances; it has sharply reduced rates for thousands of people. All the Federal dams enable the Government to conserve resources which rightfully belong to the nation as a whole. As a "yardstick", the TVA has already shown that the private companies were charging exorbitant rates.

Because it has increased the amount of power used, the TVA has helped rather than hurt the private utilities. The Federal dams have helped navigation, irrigation, and similar functions of the Government.

Here, then, is the power problem. It is an issue which will be before the American people for many generations to come. Its continued tenure as a major question is assured by the giant dams which stud the country's principal rivers. How these projects shall be administered, and what groups—public or private—shall distribute the power generated in their turbines, will be problems confronting Chief Executives long after Mr. Roosevelt has retired to private life. His policies may be changed, but the dams he has built are anchored to living granite and are as ageless as the Pyramids of Egypt.



CONDUCTOR: "I wonder how long this Act will keep in step."

—*Glasgow Evening Times*

AUSTRIA'S GAMBLE

—in which Austria makes her bed, while everybody, it seems, still hopes to sleep in it. All looks not so well, despite the Austro-German agreement . . .

BY EMIL LENGYEL

THE agreement which Germany and Austria concluded on July 11 has given cause to more speculation than any other post-war diplomatic document. In the agreement, Germany recognizes Austria's sovereignty, Austria recognizes the fact that she is a German state, and both governments undertake to refrain from interfering with each other's domestic policies. Austria's relations with the signatories of the Rome Protocols—Italy and Hungary—will not be affected.

The surprise caused by the agreement was all the more real because of Germany's unrelenting efforts to bring about the "union" of the two countries, which would have meant Austria's absorption in National Socialist Germany. The Third Reich is committed to this policy by Article No. 1 of the National Socialist Party: "We demand the union of all Germans in a Greater Germany according to the right of self-determination."

Hitler personally pledged himself to the union. In an opening paragraph of "Mein Kampf", which is accepted as the Nazi Bible, he wrote: "Austria must return to the great German motherland. Not for economic reasons, since even if it were economically harmful, it must take place. The Germans have no moral right to colonies as long as they are unable to include their own sons in a common state."

During the three and a half years of Hitler's rule, the Third Reich has pursued this aim with marked singleness of purpose. It has financed and in every other way helped a powerful Nazi party in the neighbor's land. Austria became a German *Gau* (district), with headquarters in Linz. An Austrian Legion was set up in Germany and the Munich radio station became the center of Austrian Nazi propaganda. Nazi terrorists assassinated Chancellor Dollfuss of Austria because he was considered the strongest opponent of their policy.

What was the reason for the sudden change of policy indicated in the Austro-German agreement? Is it a diplomatic victory of the Austrians or of their backers, the Italians? Does it really mean a defeat of Hitler? Was he afraid that if he let matters take their course the Italians and Russians would find a common basis in a guarantee of Austria's independence? The answer to these questions implies a larger problem: What is Austria's position at the present moment?

The Real Agreement

Although the agreement was signed by the Chancellors of Germany and Austria, the real signatories are Germany and Italy. It was primarily in their interest to patch up their quarrel over their neighbor, and Austria herself played a passive part. The sanctions caused grave damage to Italy, Mussolini's denials to the contrary not-

withstanding; and the Ethiopian job is far from finished. Italy needs a breathign spell, and she must have her back free. The negotiations leading to the agreement were originated in a conversation between Mussolini and Austrian Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg at Rocca del Caminate on June 5. From then until the signing of the agreement Il Duce was in constant touch with his Austrian spokesman.

Germany was ready to sign such an agreement in order to get out of a diplomatic *impasse* and to open the way to her new friends in the Danube valley and the Balkans: Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and perhaps also Rumania and Greece. Germany's Austrian policy had proved to be a fiasco. At the gates of Vienna she was confronted with the enmity of all Europe. Because of her, the Western Powers were forced to speed up their armaments, eclipsing all previous records. Besides, Germany is obsessed with the fear of being isolated. As long as Marshal Pilsudski was alive, the Nazis trusted the ten-year truce with Poland, but now, since his place was taken by General Edward Rydz-Smigly, known as pro-French, they are not so sure of their ground.

Agreement Only Temporary

The agreement between Germany and Austria is obviously a temporary move. Hitler can no more give up Austria in the long run than he can give up National Socialism. International morality has fallen so low in Central Europe that such agreements are usually signed with the mental reservation of *rebus sic stantibus*—their validity is conditioned upon unchanged conditions. Hitler and Mussolini will observe the agreement only as long as it is in their own interests. What comes then? In order to find the answer let us see the alignment of forces in Austria both from the international and domestic points of view.

Chancellor Hitler and Il Duce appear as the antagonists in Austria's diplomatic drama. Hitler has had two main reasons for wanting to make the southern neighbor a part of his realm: he is an Austrian himself, and the most important aim of his regime would be defeated if he failed in his dealings with Vienna.

If Hitler had been born on the opposite side of the river Inn—a few hundred feet from his actual place of birth—he would have been born a German citizen. But he was born on the Austrian side of the river, in the small town of Braunau. As a native Austrian he is in the unusual position of heading a super-nationalist Reich, of which he is not even a son. No wonder he has always been obsessed with the idea of bringing about the union of the two German-speaking countries. This would be in full accord with the Nazi *Weltanschauung*, philosophy of life, which recognizes no frontier lines separating Germans and places implicit trust in the uniting force of blood.

The Austrians favored this union until the Nazis began to bring it about in a heavy-footed way. The persecution of Catholics in the Reich did not endear the Nazis to many Austrian communicants, and nearly 95% of all inhabitants belong to the Roman church.

Italy's Stake in Austria

Mussolini's interest in Austria is mainly strategic. Although the territory of the northern neighbor is small, it occupies an important position at the intersection of the great transcontinental highway along the Danube, which connects East with West, and the Amber Road, which connects the

Baltic Sea with the Mediterranean. The Italian dictator cannot afford to have this gateway closed, so as to bar his way for expansion. Mussolini is also apprehensive about the half million German inhabitants of South Tyrol, now part of Italy, who would be more attracted to a strong Reich than they are to a weak Austria.

Until the Ethiopian War, Mussolini was one of the "angels" of the fascist Home Guards of Austria. He sent them, not only arms and ammunition, but also money. He is Austria's Big Brother, who makes and breaks governments in Vienna. He was the guiding spirit behind the campaign against Socialists and Nazis, and, as we saw before, was behind the move for temporary reconciliation with the Reich. The result is that Austria has only a semblance of independence. In the words of irreverent Viennese, Austria is a corpse, prevented from collapsing by the crush of people around it.

In this crowd there are not only Germans and Italians, but also Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, French, and English. The Czechs fear that Hitler's occupation of Austria would forge an iron ring around them, while the Yugoslavs fear Mussolini's control of Austria. The French fear the Austro-German union more than any other change in the Danube valley, realizing that its consummation would mean that, in the end, it was they who lost the World War. The British want to maintain their traditional policy of the balance of power, which would be upset by a strong Reich.

Inside Austria

Let us now see the alignment of forces in Austria herself. It seems to be a serious situation, in spite of the agreement with the Reich. On the one side there is the Government, which would be very weak but for Mussolini's support, and, on the other side, there is a strong opposition, consisting of Socialists, Communists, and National Socialists. What keeps the weak government alive in the face of the strong opposition? Viennese will whisper into your ear, if they are courageous, that it is supported by bayonets and Italy. The Government calls itself corporative and Christian, but the opposition insists that it is neither. Its rule is based upon the so-called "May Constitution", promulgated on May 1, 1934, which is based upon an authoritarian executive and an emasculated legislature with merely consultative powers. The corporative principle is embodied in an intricate system of chambers, in which the major occupations are represented. So far, however, the chambers have been called upon merely to cheer some of the Government's more important decrees. As to the regime's being Christian, its opponents say that its wholesale slaughter of women and children in February, 1934, disqualifies it from the right to assume the name.

Fascists

Until recently the main upholders of the regime were the Home Guards, which, in addition to Mussolini, were maintained by the local steel industry, particularly the mighty Alpine Montangesellschaft. Its former leader, Prince Starhemberg, and the Government itself also contributed to its upkeep. Although the Home Guards have been officially submerged in the militia of an all-inclusive organization, the *Vaterlaendische Front,* they are still a strong influence.

The Home Guards' constitution, known as the Korneuburg Program, is fascistic. It demands an authoritarian

state, from which the legislature is eliminated. It demands that Marxian Socialism be stamped out of public life. It demands more adequate help for the peasant and greater protection for Austrian agricultural products. It endorses some mild correctives of capitalistic excesses, without being very definite about them. While the Austrian fascists are not as anti-Semitic as the German Nazis, their insistence upon the Christian doctrine is seen as an indirect attack upon the Jews.

Until Chancellor Schuschnigg ousted Prince Starhemberg early this summer, the latter was thought to be Austria's strong man. But those who knew the young Prince, as a man of flesh and blood and not as a legend, also knew that he was far from being strong. The incorrigible habitues of the Vienna cafes like to say that Starhemberg was a child prodigy—as intelligent at the age of four as he is now.

The Prince's temporary success was due to an overpowering obsession. He hated the Socialists, and when arraigning them, he almost became eloquent. But he lost his head and engaged in a conspiracy against the Government of which he was the Vice Chancellor. He wanted to become Austria's Regent Governor, and when Mussolini heard of this, he dropped his young friend. The Prince put up no resistance, thus confirming the view that he was not the strong man he had advertised himself to be.

The Fatherland Front, which has absorbed the Home Guards, has no definite program. It is a patriotic organization, consisting of a large number of incongruous elements. Its main financial supporters are the Vienna merchants—who fear both genuine Socialism and National Socialism—and the civil servants, who are forced to join it. It is honeycombed with members of the opposition, who buy protection by paying the dues, or use it for their work to "bore from within."

Socialists

The strongest opponents of the ruling regime are the Socialists and National Socialists. Before Austria went fascist some three years ago, it was the Socialists who formed the largest party in parliament. They had a strong majority in the legislature of Vienna, which had the status of a "State." The capital's Socialist administration was responsible for the most ambitious housing program ever executed on the Continent, having built low-rent, up-to-date apartment houses for a quarter of a million people.

The success of the Socialists at Vienna may have had a bad effect on dissatisfied Italians, so Mussolini decided to break the Austrian Socialists. For several days there was civil war in Austria, in which hundreds fell and thousands were wounded. When the fighting was over, the Socialist Party had ceased to be a legal movement. It exists now as a powerful underground activity, and it is estimated that about 100,000 of its members still pay dues. The circulation of the illegal Socialist *Arbeiterzeitung*, published in Czechoslovakia, is estimated at 70,000 copies, which is more than that of any legally printed paper.

The Socialists have still some arms in their possession, and they have the remnants of the formerly strong Defense Corps, "Schutzbund", which sometimes risks maneuvers in secluded spots of the Vienna Woods. Although strikes are outlawed in Austria, the Socialists called out the workers in the Sauer and Fiat automobile plants in March. Many Socialists have joined the National Socialists, not because they like Hitler but because they like

their own fascists even less, and they want to take revenge for the bloodbath of February 1934.

Nazis

Unlike the Socialists, the Austrian Nazis had no representatives in the late parliament, and in less than four years they have grown from practically nothing into a powerful force. Unlike the Socialists, who favor democracy, the Nazis want a totalitarian state as part of the German Reich. In spite of their name, they are anti-Socialistic and, of course, strongly anti-Semitic.

The Nazis of Austria have had their ups and downs. About three years ago they seemed to be irresistible, particularly in Tyrol and Carinthia, where nationalist feeling runs highest. At that time I was told that more than half of the entire population was for Hitlerism. Austria was then securely District No. VIII of the Nazi Reich, commanded by Theo Habicht, a second lieutenant of Adolf Hitler. In those days evidence of Nazi work was seen everywhere. They burned the swastika sign on mountain peaks, carved it into the slopes of hills, exploded bombs, derailed trains, and assaulted their foes. They made fun of the Government. When they were forbidden to display the crooked cross, they donned top hats. When this was forbidden, they put cornflowers in their buttonholes, and when that was forbidden, they took to wearing white stockings.

In July 1934 all seemed to be set for a decisive move. A group of Nazis seized the Vienna broadcasting station and announced the fall of the Dollfuss Government. Another group took over the Chancellery, wounded the Chancellor, and let him bleed to death. But the Nazi call to arms was not followed by a mass rising, and the Government took the Chancellery. Mussolini marched two divisions into the Dolomites, ready to resist Hitler's invasion of Austria, and the great powers warned Berlin to leave Vienna alone. Hitler was forced to recall the Austrian legion and the Munich broadcasting station was muzzled.

These events were followed by an anti-climax. The Austrian Nazis fell under a shadow and they adopted a new name: pronounced Germans. They became less aggressive, but their strength is still something to be reckoned with. They have penetrated high government offices, the universities, the judiciary, the police, and the national railway administration. From time to time a high official is tried for Nazi propaganda, but most of them enjoy immunity from persecution, since they are the ones who enforce the laws.

In recent months the Austrian Nazis have taken a new line of attack. Instead of demanding Austria's annexation by Germany, they demand a plebiscite to decide about the country's fate. For some time Chancellor Schuschnigg has been suspected of wanting to reach a compromise with the local Nazis by including a few of their less extreme representatives in the Government. This suspicion was aroused mainly by the tone of the Government-controlled Austrian press.

—And the Monarchists

Meanwhile the Hapsburgs are waiting for their cue. It was thought at the time the two governments announced the July 11 agreement that it included a secret clause to the effect that the question of Hapsburg restoration would not be broached for three years. This has been denied both in Berlin and Vienna. The present Austrian Government is considered pro-Hapsburg. Nevertheless, Chan-

cellor Schuschnigg, who is a convinced royalist, declared the other day that the problem of restoration is not a timely subject at present.

More than a thousand Austrian villages have made Crown Prince Otto their honorary citizen. Otto wrote a letter in the middle of June to his Austrian representative, Baron von Wiesner, in which he again offered his services to his country in this hour of stress. In Vienna monarchist sentiment is strong, particularly among the merchants. Even some left-wing adherents hope that under a Hapsburg ruler, the fascist regime would be put out of commission. Archduchess Adelaide, a sister of Otto, was given great ovations wherever she went in Austria. Many Austrians seem to think that the most effective way to put an end of the Hitler-Mussolini tug-of-war would be to bring back the young Prince.

The great obstacle in the way of the Hapsburgs' return is the Little Entente — Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia—whose slogan is: "Otto means war!" Not that they hate the young man, but they fear his return to the Vienna Hofburg would be a signal for their own discontented national minorities to ask a return to the old fold. Looking back into the past, the Hapsburg rule may appear the golden age to them.

Only time can tell what the real effect of the Austro-German agreement has on the relations of the Central European countries. But one incontrovertible fact stands out: Austria is no longer "felix"—happy—as she was called for centuries. She is probably the least happy country in the Danube valley, harassed by friend and foe, an object of unceasing international rivalries, Europe's danger spot No. 1.



GERMANY WANTS COLONIES

John Bull: "Very good, sir. Two satellites of Jupiter are vacant."

—*Nebelspalter, Zurich*

EYES *on* DANZIG

Since Herr Greiser thumbed his nose at the League, Europe has been wondering: Is Danzig the new center of Hitler's great ambitions?

BY W. WALTER CROTCH

THERE has been a great deal of talk of "indivisible peace", and rightly so. But peace is not the only indivisible quantity in world politics. The efforts of certain powers to interfere intolerably with those nations whose only ambition is to be left alone, are also indivisible. Between Addis Ababa and Danzig there is not only a straight line, but an intimate connection. It is a connection which springs from a spiritual kinship between Hitlerian Germany and Mussolinian Italy. In normal circumstances it would be naive to divide the powers and parcel them out as "good boys and bad ones." But these are not normal circumstances; a desperate fight, sometimes open and sometimes concealed, is going on all over the civilized world, between the forces of liberty, democracy, and peace on the one side, and those of repression, fascism, and war on the other. This line of demarcation cuts athwart all other international divisions, and to a far-seeing observer, it has long been evident that it was only a question of time before Hitler and Mussolini, keenly as they personally dislike each other, would find themselves in close diplomatic association. The process by which this union of the two dictatorships has finally come about is not yet ended; the bloc may prove an alluring attraction for other fascist or semi-fascist states. Hungary and Austria are knocking at its doors, and Poland is likely to do likewise, unless the rising tide of democratic sentiment in Warsaw should succeed first in ridding the country of Colonel Beck and his friends. Let us take stock:

The lamentable weakness of the League of Nations; the eternal hesitations and vacillations, first of the French, then of the British; and finally the popular fear of war which dominates public opinion in every democratic country today, have encouraged aggressions the world over. Herr Hitler firmly believes that there will be no war, because he is convinced that the rest of the world, having accepted the *fait accompli* in the Rhineland, will also accept it on the Baltic, or wherever else it may please him to stage his next dramatic act. Mussolini feels encouraged to intrigue further, to prepare the way for new aggressions nearer home, because the world failed to arrest his attack upon a state, which, whatever its failings, was still a fellow member of the League. So the only question for a war-mongering dictator today is: "Where shall I precipitate the next move?"

Germany has two choices: Central or Northeastern Europe. She may try to reopen the way to the Balkans (the royal road to Bagdad, as it used to be called in 1914); or she may prefer to hammer her way eastward; to fulfill what Hitler has proclaimed to be the historic destiny of the German people: the "civilizing of the East." That the states, great or small, which lie east of Germany are perhaps in a much more advanced state of true civilization

today than Germany under the Hitler regime has little or nothing to do with the matter. Hitler prates of "civilization", but he really means "expansion." And in this connection one cannot be unmindful of the recent methods of his new-found colleague in an African campaign.

The rulers in Berlin hesitated a long time between southward or eastward expansion. Herren Ribbentrop and Rosenberg, Hitler and Neurath, had their conflicting views on the subject. What really settled the matter—if present indications are confirmed, and it *is* settled—was Signor Mussolini's success in Abyssinia. The blindest of would-be German diplomats could see that this gave Germany a chance to detach Italy from her old Allies. But to do it meant abandoning at least for the time being, the dream of southward expansion; and it meant concentrating upon eastward aggression. For Hitler himself, there is no doubt that this was a considerable disappointment. To postpone—for of course it would seem only a question of postponement—the accomplishment of his fond dream of returning in triumph to the country which is the land of his birth, and which has cast him out, must have been a bitter vexation, as indeed it would have been for a less ambitious man. The *Reichswehr,* however, backed with all its might the views of those who advocated a concentration on the eastern side. Although it is well known that among German Army leaders there has always been a strong section favorable to cooperation with Russia on purely military grounds, there was one consideration which tipped the balance in the minds of such men as General Fritsch and General Beck, head of the Operations Department of the German General Staff: while an Austrian adventure would render illusory all hope of Italian support and would probably mean immediate war against practically the whole of Europe, Danzig or Lithuania might only entail hostilities against Soviet Russia.

Nazi Reasoning

The reasoning was perhaps just a little too simple to be convincing to practiced and experienced diplomats, but then it must be remembered that soldiers are seldom good diplomats. The thought ran in this way: Neither Great Britain nor France have vital interests in the Baltic. Neither the French nor the English man-in-the-street can be expected to don a uniform and go to war because of Danzig and Lithuania. Poland, so long as Colonel Beck guides its foreign policy, can be handled. Czechoslovakia and the Little Entente are not in the least interested or concerned. True, there is the unequivocal declaration of Stalin, that Russia would not tolerate any disturbance of the *status quo* in the Baltic, but deprived of her basis for air-operations in Czechoslovakia and of the corridor for her armies which Rumania might place at her disposal, Russia either would not dare risk war, or, if she did, would prove herself comparatively ineffective.

This reasoning leaves out of account Russia's pacts with France and with Czechoslovakia. But the sanctity of treaties, as all the world recognizes, is a vain term to Germany, and people generally are convinced that neither France nor Czechoslovakia would risk a war for the sake of the *status quo* in the Baltic. Of course, they may be wrong; the same gentlemen or their predecessors were wrong in 1914 when they were just as strongly persuaded that Great Britain would never go to war about Serbia.

But to pursue the German train of thought: a *fait accompli* in Danzig might be carried through without war

at all. If war should ensue, then it would be only with Russia and under conditions which would preclude that country from deploying her full strength, or anything like it. For Hitler, it would mean another cheap national triumph after the fashion of the Saar and the Rhineland. And the political effects of the Rhineland affair are wearing off fast; dissatisfaction at home is growing again by leaps and bounds; and while public attention is momentarily attracted by the Olympic Games, these will be over in a few weeks, and another *coup* will be due.

Conquest in Danzig, of all available dramatic gestures, appears to be the easiest and the one fraught with least dangers. Moreover, such a move can be easily, if speciously, defended upon ethical grounds. In the case of the Rhineland, many unthinking people abroad were attracted by the argument that a country must be master in its own house and that there is no justification for imposing restrictions on the fortifying of any part of national territory. Our own people subscribed blindly and widely to that doctrine. They either overlooked or were ignorant of the fact that France, an equally proud country, accepted without the slightest protest exactly the same kind of restriction, as far as Savoy was concerned, from 1862 until 1920, and apparently did not feel "dishonored" by it. In the same way, Dr. Joseph Goebbels could mobilize unthinking public opinion in many countries by pointing out that Danzig is overwhelmingly German and that its status as a "free" city is nonsense.

Polish Demands

We might ask, however, why Danzig was made a free city. The answer is that Poland demanded access to the sea, and no other harbor was available at that time. Among other points, Poland claimed that while Germany's coastline was 1,140 percent longer than her own, Germany's population was only 90% larger and her area only 21% greater. The free access to the sea prescribed for Poland by President Wilson's Thirteenth Point was not an artificial creation, but one founded upon a solid and legitimate territorial link. Take a swift survey of the details. Poland had 88 coast miles, while Germany had 1,092; the population of the former was some 32 millions and that of the latter, double. But while Poland had 372,000 inhabitants per coast mile, Germany had only 59,000. Poland's claim seemed irresistible, and once it was ceded, her enterprise and energy speedily removed the disability. Gdynia, next door to Danzig, has been built up into an important harbor, providing facilities equal to any other port in the Baltic. The latest figures are not available at the moment, but four years ago, out of a 10,363,000 tonnage between Gdynia and Danzig, the former had almost half, the exact figure being Danzig, 5,467,000, and Gdynia, 4,896,000.

Fears of Aggression

Today the statistics are much more eloquently in Poland's favor. As a matter of fact, Poland no longer needs Danzig. Her special status there, at least, is no longer a matter of economic life and death. And since Germany has, in the Austrian question, shown a certain elasticity, there is nothing to prevent her from suggesting to the Poles that in a German Danzig they would be left to enjoy the principal privileges guaranteed by the League status.

Why, then, should anyone object to Germany taking possession once more of a city which, though it has a Polish minority, is, and always has been, predominantly German? Two reasons at

once suggest themselves. First, unless the danger of war is to remain permanently suspended over the world, neither Germany nor any other country can be allowed its own sweet will to revise a treaty to which several countries are parties. If after the rearmament and the Rhineland *faits accomplis*, Germany is allowed to get off scot free with a Danzig *fait accompli*—then there will be no bounds to her appetite and no limit to the possibilities of her aggression. Her plan of a *Mittel Europa* from the Baltic to the Adriatic, entirely under German domination, will receive a fresh impetus. After Danzig may come Lithuania. After Lithuania, the rest of the Baltic states. Or the colonies. Or Eupen Malmedy. And certainly, since the need for Italian cooperation by that time will have vanished, Austria would come next.

The second point is that Danzig is not of one mind. Indeed, it is far from being so. In the recent elections the National Socialists, despite a campaign of unprecedented terrorism, succeeded in securing only 48% of the electorate. Forty-two percent refused to bow to the Hitlerian Baal. They will have nothing to do with a Germany which, they feel, has reverted to the Middle Ages. They declared during the whirlwind campaign that they fundamentally distrusted the new spirit of German nationalism, which Sir Austen Chamberlain, in the House of Commons three years ago, designated as "the worst of the All-Prussian Imperialism, with an added savagery, a racial pride, an exclusiveness, which cannot allow to any fellow subject not of 'pure Nordic birth' equality of rights and citizenship within the nation to which he belongs." That the protestors have not lost ground since the elections, is evidenced by the fact that they are clamoring for a new vote in which case they are confident they would obtain a majority. But Herr Foster, National-Socialist leader in Danzig, and Herr Greiser, President of the Danzig Senate, are of no mind to grant elections now, or at any other time. They are representatives of the Nazi regime. They have suppressed the opposition press; and they have abolished the constitution granted by the Treaty of Versailles. Danzigers are to be bullied and browbeaten into enthusiastic support of Hitlerian Germany!

Sean Lester's Troubles

The League of Nations has a resident commissioner in Danzig — an Irishman, Mr. Sean Lester, whose moderation and common sense have impressed all those who have ever come in contact with him. Mr. Lester, considering that the rights of minorities stand under the protection of the League he represents, has, very properly, objected to these Hitlerian designs. He has stood up for at least the elementary rights of citizenship which the League status guarantees, and he has thereby incurred the undying enmity of Herr Greiser, Herr Foster, and the supreme war lord, Herr Hitler.

The attitude of the Danzig Nazi chiefs towards Mr. Lester was made possible only by the loss of prestige the League sustained by its failure to stop Mussolini's African aggression. The League is now accounted of no importance whatever, and has become a thing at which Herr Greiser inelegantly can put out his tongue, or indulge in other unseemly gestures, with impunity.

If that were all, the world might grin and bear it. Ill-bred children are a nuisance, but are not a public danger. However, these are obviously mere symptoms. The League's prestige is

at so low an ebb that nothing it might say, no threats it might utter, would prevent Herr Hitler and his merry men from marching into Danzig at any moment he chooses. He will probably prepare for it, in the words of his faithful lieutenant, "in secret and in darkness." Two questions arise: What will be Poland's attitude? And when will it all occur?

Hitler and Beck

There can be little doubt concerning the first question. Ever since Colonel Beck was requested, as military attaché to France, to relieve that country of his presence within 24 hours, he has maintained close association with Germany. They are doubtless quite circumspect, but in diplomatic circles they give rise to a considerable amount of comment. His policy, especially since Pilsudski's disappearance from the scene, has amply shown his marked preference for German ideas. It is commonly believed that Poland has actually reached an understanding with Germany about the disputed Corridor, the ancient Polish province of the Pomorze, with its 4,552 square miles upon which Germany has for so long cast hungry eyes. She has undoubtedly done so in regard to Danzig, and the first step toward the realization of her dream of acquisition was taken when, under German influence, she permitted the Free City to be peacefully annexed.

How carefully Herr Hitler and Colonel Beck play into each others' hands is shown by the fact that Germany is proceeding by certain well-defined stages in this Danzig affair. First, there was the insolent Greiser interlude at Geneva. Then, the abolition of the Danzig Constitution to make complete assimilation of Danzig and Germany possible, without technically endangering Polish political rights. Third will come open annexation, the entry of German troops into the city—the formal *coup d'etat*.

It is not so easy to say when this last will happen. In Danzig itself, the view is held—by many, with hope, by many with fear and trembling—that the blow will fall during September. Indeed, so precarious is the situation that it may well have happened before these lines are actually printed. On the other hand, the Salzburg conference held between the leaders of the German and Austrian Nazis last May, would seem to indicate that matters will not proceed quite so quickly. Europe, it is said, is to be given a breathing space—because the Reichswehr is not exactly ready. Apart from the new arrangement which Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, has concluded with Herr Hitler with Mussolini's consent and direct approval (at what a price is still a matter of speculation), the Austrian Nazi leaders were told some few months ago at that conference by Herr Goering's spokesman that they would have to renounce all revolutionary activity for a time. Germany, it was announced, was about to concentrate upon eastern and north-eastern objectives. To this end, she must have her rear and her flanks secured. It was added that although the German Army would be fully prepared by 1937, a campaign against Soviet Russia would entail elaborate transport arrangements.

"A Soviet campaign," they were told, "is considered by our General Staff as a matter of transport mainly. To carry out these additional preparations, we shall need something like twelve months more"

That, of course, would mean 1938. The warning may be worth something. It may prove the pointer for which the whole world is anxiously looking. But if the move is still so far away, why

Herr Greiser's provocative and apelike performances in 1936? And why the ostentatious backing by Berlin? And why this cynical condonation of vulgarity without cause and this equally audacious contravention of Article 101 of the Versailles Treaty which insured the independence of the Free City of Danzig? Is it that Herr Hitler needs a new and spectacular political success every few months to keep the growing unrest of his own people in check? And does he believe that Danzig now offers him an easy method of achieving it before his dramatic invasion of Czechoslovakia?

Whatever may be the cause, or the motive, it is certain that Danzig is the jumping-off ground for that further trespass on her neighbors' vineyards, upon which Germany's insatiable and covetous gaze is set. Some day, perchance, she will realize the truth of that old saying of Washington Irving, that every unholy desire bears death in its gratification.

Surprise from Hitler

Once again a "surprise" from Hitler on the Jewish Sabbath. The "northeasterners" * * * have apparently won against the "southeasterners", who wanted the expansionist drive to begin first towards the southeast.

There is no little irony in the fact that Goebbels was commanded to make the announcement of the provisional agreement over the radio. The Army, Schacht, Goering and the Balt, Rosenberg, all agreed against Goebbels that peaceful economic penetration of Austria was preferable to risking war at the moment.

Force can still be used later, they argued. The fact that Britain, France and probably Italy would not have resisted the use of force against Austria had no bearing on the case. The German Army commanders do not want to fight until they feel certain of victory. * * *

There is another factor in the situation that has received too scant attention —von Papen. He is a Papal Chamberlain and a devout believer in the restoration of the Holy Roman Empire with a Germanic ruler, crowned in Rome by the Pope. Despite rebuffs * * * he still has faith in Hitler as the great temporal unifier not only of the German people but of all that conglomerate which makes up Europe. The Church alone had its chance and lost it. Where faith helps this adventurous soul is in the belief that a Pope will be able to put a crown on the head of Hitler, or his successor. For Papen, therefore, an agreement with Italy is not only welcome but imperative.

The Week, London, July 15, 1936

WORKERS IN THE SOVIET

THOUSANDS FIND PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISE IN THE SOVIET UNION, SOME AS INDIVIDUALS, OTHERS IN COOPERATIVES.

BY JOSEPH H. BAIRD

THE lights in my Moscow apartment flickered a few times uncertainly, then left all in darkness. Candles were lighted and the house janitor was summoned. That worthy gentleman was eager enough to aid, but his knowledge of snow-shoveling being much superior to his acquaintance with watts, amperes, or even short-circuits, he presently gave up his attempts to find the trouble and the rest of the evening was spent by candlelight.

Next morning my secretary summoned Sergei Ivanovitch who, she said, had repaired her own lights quickly and efficiently. Yes, Sergei sent word, he would come to fix the foreigner's lights, but not until after 5 o'clock when his work in the factory was over. He came—a wizened, bearded little fellow in the cotton-padded coat, and black, visored cap so typical of Russian workmen. He set about his job in a knowing way, and soon the electric system was functioning again.

"How much do I owe you?" I asked the fellow.

He blinked, shifted his feet, scratched his head, and seemed generally uncertain. I, being new to the country, turned to my secretary for advice.

"Give him about ten rubles," she suggested.

I handed him the *chervonitz* note. He looked pleased enough and went out into the dusk.

A few days later my portable typewriter developed a bad case of jitters and finally refused to function. Again my secretary was asked for advice. She telephoned, and presently a business-like young man, Alexei Petrovitch, arrived at my bureau (my office, like that of all Moscow correspondents, was, because of the scarcity of space downtown, located in my apartment), and set to work on the balky machine.

The job required about two hours. When he was through I asked him for his fee, just as I had asked the old electrician the night before. There was no hesitation here. He took from his pocket a bill form, did some simple arithmetic, and presented me with a statement for 21 rubles. No quibbling; that was his price. After he had gone I turned to my Russian assistant and asked:

"Why was the old electrician who came last night so uncertain about his price while this business-like young man knew exactly how much he wanted?"

"That's simple," she replied. "Sergei Ivanovitch is an individual worker. Alexei Petrovitch is a 'co-op' man."

These incidents are related because they illustrate in a simple way the means by which a Soviet citizen gets done those necessary, technical, little jobs for which the vast industrial "five-year plans" have not provided. Perhaps eventually—for the Soviet Union is constantly in transition—there may be great State trusts for fixing lights

and mending typewriters, just like those which now exist for making locomotives and steel girders. But that day is not yet. Now not only services like those described, but also the manufacture of things like furniture, rugs, some shoes, *objets d'art*, and so on, are performed by an economic group working in the pale borderland between capitalism and socialism. Persons doing such tasks may belong to cooperatives, or *artels*, as they are generally called in Russia, or they may labor as individuals, making what money they can, and subject only to certain restrictions laid down by the State.

Of the two groups, those working in *artels* are the more numerous and important. Their number is increasing, while the individual workers, usually trained artisans before the Revolution, are becoming fewer day by day. The *artels* are by no means a new, post-revolutionary creation. For centuries, all over Europe, even in England, groups of workers in the same craft have banded to share their profits and market their products together. Usually they labored at home. It is estimated that in pre-revolutionary Russia, which, be it remembered, was about 80% agricultural, there were 5,250,000 members of such cooperatives. The modern Soviet *artels* differ from their prototypes only in their larger size and the fact that their members now usually work in shops instead of in their homes.

Looking at the *artel* structure from the Kremlin, that capstone of every Soviet economic organization, an observer would see something like this: Several million workers (the exact present number is not available, but in 1932 there were 2,353,000) fixing typewriters in Moscow, making shoes in Kiev, weaving rugs in Central Asia, or doing a hundred other things which the Government considers necessary to supply goods or perform services for the people. In control of all, there sits in Moscow the All-Union Industrial Cooperative Council (*Vseckomcromsoviet*). This Council, in consultation with the All-Union Central Executive Committee and the Council of Peoples' Commissars, determines the rules and policies of the cooperatives from the Polish border to the Pacific.

The organization has its branches in regions, districts, and so on down to the towns. To insure honesty in operation, it works hand in hand with the ubiquitous and dreaded Commission of Soviet Control, whose auditors and secret agents watch constantly to enforce honest and efficient administration.

That is the picture from the top. But perhaps the organization of Soviet *artels* and the purpose they serve can be better understood by viewing the structure from the bottom.

Fundamentals of the Artels

Take the city of Kiev in the Ukraine. There, let us say, are fifty men who have been trained as electricians, either before the Revolution, or in one of the constantly increasing Soviet technical schools. For various reasons these men may prefer neither to ply their trades in Soviet factories nor to follow the haphazard path of the individualist. So they band together into an *artel* of electricians. (Parenthetically, it may be said that under Soviet law an *artel* must consist entirely of members of one craft. There could not, for instance, be a cooperative containing both electricians and plumbers, even though the nature of their work, save in its technicalities, is similar.)

The first business on the agenda of the newly-formed *artel* would be the selection of a board of directors. This

body, a sort of "steering committee", determines the policies and practices of the organization—always, of course, within limits established by the All-Union Industrial Cooperative Council. It is directly responsible to the general meeting of all the members. The Board, in turn, elects a manager.

This manager runs the shop. He employs men and may dismiss them, subject to certain safeguards to be discussed later. If the *artel* is a manufacturing one, he arranges for supplies of raw materials and for the sale of the furnished goods. If it is an *artel* providing services, such as one of repair men, he receives orders and assigns men to their respective jobs. He supervises the bookkeeping and banking. In short, he performs just about the same functions and has approximately the same authority as the general manager in a capitalistic factory or shop and, like him, is responsible to his board of directors.

Indeed, the parallel between a Soviet *artel* and a capitalistic shop may be carried further, for the board of directors is responsible to the *artel* members just as an American board is to its stockholders, which, indeed, the artisans are, for they share the profits of the organization. But there the parallel ceases to be exact, for each member has exactly the same amount of "stock" and participates equally in dividends—that is, equally in proportion to the work he does.

Whatever one may think of the Soviet Union's claim to political democracy—and there is ample room for debate—there is real democracy in the *artels*. And justice, too, so far as the human mind is capable of abstract justice. This is illustrated in the provisions for appeal by a workman whom the manager may discharge. If the dismissed artisan believes he has been unjustly treated, he may present his case to the board of directors. If they reject his plea for reinstatement, he has even further recourse: he may appeal to a meeting of the whole *artel*. They may overrule the decision of the board.

Income and Taxation

If there is what may be called an "aristocracy of Soviet labor", it is, of course, the laborers in State factories, mines, and other enterprises. They are the "heroes" of the new Government of Workers. Through their trade unions they are provided with rest homes where they may spend several weeks each year at a nominal cost, and they are also given medical attention when ill. For many years *artel* members did not enjoy these advantages. Moreover, they paid higher income taxes than the State employees and suffered other disadvantages.

Lately, however, the wide gap between the two classes shows evidence of being closed. Through their own organizations, the *artels* are providing rest homes and other benefits for workers. And by a decree issued in 1934, workers in *artels* had their tax rates reduced to the same level as those in State enterprises.

Present income taxes are shown by the following schedule:

Annual Income	Tax
1,000 to 2,000 rubles	1.5%
2,000 to 3,000 rubles	25 rubles and 3.5%
3,000 to 4,000 rubles	58 rubles and 3.7%
20,000 rubles and above	3,975 rubles and 38%

(It will be seen that while the State places no legal limit on the amount of money an *artel* worker may earn, income taxes rise so sharply as to become virtually confiscatory in the highest brackets.)

The State has shown every indication in recent months of regarding the *artels* as useful adjuncts of its own



© Sovfoto

CRAFTSMAN: He used to do this work at home, but now he's in a cooperative.

industrial system and is aiding them in many ways. For instance, the All-Union Industrial Cooperative Council may supply an *artel* with raw materials on credit until it becomes firmly established financially. Extreme care is taken, however, to see that the *artels* do not speculate in supplies. They may buy only those materials needed for their finished product, and their stocks may not be resold at a profit.

Markets and Speculation

Incidentally, speculation on commodities and trading in them between State trusts has been responsible for the exile of many officials who are now pondering their sins in the cold wilds of Siberia. The Soviet press recently published the story of an enterprising young Russian who developed an ingenious "racket" which kept him in comparative luxury for many months until it was discovered by the secret police. He was one of those wire-pulling gentlemen who seem somehow to know everything and everybody. Did a plant in Moscow need glass badly, although having an oversupply of nails? Then this well informed fellow knew of a factory in Tula which had a large stock of glass, but was in dire need of nails. He would arrange a trade between the two institutions and reap a neat profit on both sides. At the time he was operating, food cards and various other credentials of privilege were of more value in Soviet Russia than money. So he usually took his pay in them. When arrested he had about a dozen food cards, or tickets to "closed stores" where prices were a fraction of those on the "Open Market", passes on Moscow and Leningrad tram lines, free tickets to many theaters, and cards for numerous clubs to which he did not belong. He later took a trip to Siberia. But to proceed:

Aside from assisting in the formation of cooperatives, the State, through its trusts, also provides them with a market for a large part of their products. For example, a trust selling shoes, if it does not manufacture enough in its own plants to supply the public demand, may contract with a number of shoemakers' *artels* to take their entire output. There is, even yet, a considerable shortage of consumption goods in Russia, though the output of such things as clothes and shoes is rapidly being increased under the second "five-year plan."

In summary, the *artel*, in the present stage of Soviet economic development, is being relied upon to supply the hundreds of goods and services which the State, so far, has not been able to arrange through its own institutions. It stands somewhere in the twilight

zone between capitalism (for its members make a profit) and socialism (for it is cooperatively owned and no man may exploit the labor of another). Whether it will exist indefinitely or give way to purely State institutions, it is difficult to say. At any rate, it appears for the moment to be giving little anxiety to the Marxist theorists in the Kremlin.

Individual Workers

But what of the "individual" workers, colleagues of old Sergei Ivanovitch who came to fix the lights? How is their existence justified under a Marxist system? Where do they come from, what are their obligations to the State, and what of their future?

There is nothing in the Soviet legal code to prevent any citizen from plying his trade as an individual, but it happens that most young men and women prefer to work for some State organization or, at least, to enter an *artel*. Most of the electricians, carpenters, tinkers, and tailors who work "on their own" around Soviet cities these days are remnants of the old regime, men who learned their trade before the Revolution.

They operate with virtually the same freedom as similar artisans in a capitalistic country. They are under the direction of no organization, they charge what they can get, and they work when they please—at least in theory. Their only obligation to the State is to pay an income tax if their earnings are within the first bracket or higher. However, they are not qualified for many of the advantages which other workers enjoy. For instance, they do not have the privileges of sanitoria and rest homes and they have no social insurance.



© Sovfoto

WATCHMAKER: She earns a living on her own initiative, although the State absorbs some of her output.

Many of these workers, nevertheless, manage to enjoy the privileges of a State employee while still earning a good income on the side. For there is nothing to prevent an electrician from working his seven or eight hours a day in, say, the Stalin Automobile Plant, and then continuing privately for as many additional hours as he wishes on odd jobs around homes. Indeed, a large number of them do just that.

Until recently a connection with some State enterprise was almost essential for the individual worker. During the hard years between 1928 and 1933, food, clothing, and most necessities of life were strictly rationed. Prices for them on the "open market" were prohibitive, except for the relatively rich. Only organization workers could obtain admission cards to the so-called "closed stores", where prices often were a mere half or third of those on the "open market", where anyone might buy. Hence, unless a citizen had a card for the "closed" system, he found the cost of living unbearably high. That reason for a worker being connected with some organization was removed last year, however, when the card system was abolished. Now all stores are "open" and the prices of commodities are the same for everyone.

However, even though there is no legal or even economic ban on working as an individual, certain social and political forces are driving the Soviet citizen into State or cooperative labor. The man or woman who takes no active part in "building Socialism" is viewed as a "slacker." He has no opportunity to rise to a position of power either in the Government or in the Communist Party. Although the regime may not consider him a politically dangerous enemy, he is viewed by ardent Communists as a remnant of the capitalistic system. And so he is disappearing. He is a rather pathetic old figure, living in memories of the past. But in the present stage of Soviet economic development, he still serves useful, though minor, purpose.

Truck Drivers' Income

We are now on the highway * * * At full speed comes truck No. 6-78-65 owned by the Dnepropetrovsk Restaurant Trust. On the edge of the highway stands a group of people with bags, cases, and milk cans * * * Two of the waiting people put out their hands and stretch out their fingers * * * An outstretched hand means a tariff of five rubles for each person and baggage * * * When [the truck driver] arrives in Dnepropetrovsk, he has about 20 people aboard. His income from each such trip reaches a nice sum of up to 100 rubles. The State Automobile Inspection Bureau sometimes fines a truck driver, when caught, 25 or 50 rubles. But the truck drivers * * * find it easy to pay the insignificant fines. It is up to the District Attorney now.

Pravda, Moscow (Courtesy of the Edwards Translation Bureau)

JAPAN'S TRADE CHALLENGE

BY WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

The facts, the figures, the system, and the problem of Nippon's thriving textile factories.

THE recent action of the United States Government in raising by forty-two percent the duty on Japanese textiles is only one of many countermeasures which have been taken all over the world against the amazing sweep of "Made-in-Japan" products. America's action, to be sure, was motivated more by fears for the future and by the supposedly depressing effect of even a small quantity of Japanese goods on the price level than by any large inflow of competing textiles. The imported Japanese textiles represented only about half of one percent of the American domestic production.

At the same time, the forward sweep of Japanese textiles on the markets of the world during recent years has been amazing. Osaka, rather than Manchester, has become the leading center of the textile export trade. For three successive years Japan has sold more cotton cloth abroad than any other country. The record exports of 1935 amounted to 2,715,000,000 square yards, as against the 1,946,000,000 square yards of Great Britain, Japan's chief competitor.

Still more spectacular has been the growth of the rayon industry, much of which is centered around historic and picturesque Lake Biwa, in the vicinity of the old capital, Kyoto. Japan's rayon output in 1927 was ten and a half million pounds, ranking below that of America, Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy. By 1935 Japan was running the United States a close second in the race for rayon leadership, producing 224,000,000 pounds, as against America's 256,700,000.

Japan's successes in the export field have been especially striking in Asia and Africa, where the vast majority of people must have cheap manufactured goods or go without. During a recent visit to Osaka I found a number of price lists which indicated that in a world of free trade Japan would most probably achieve still greater triumphs in export trade than have actually fallen to her lot.

A hosiery company was selling yellow undershirts, destined for the Philippines, India, and Africa at 6.50 yen per dozen. This works out at about two dollars, as the yen is worth between twenty-nine and thirty cents. Sports shirts, made for Northern Europe, were 6.27 yen per dozen and wool shirts, for America, 14.50 yen per dozen. It is estimated that Japan is able to sell its textiles abroad at an average price of eighteen sen (a little over five cents) per square yard, as against thirty-four sen for British textiles. Japanese rayon goods have been selling in Australia as low as ninepence a yard, whereas British rayon costs about two shillings a yard.

Mills Have No Unions

During my visit to Osaka, Kyoto, and a number of smaller towns in that part of Japan, I visited mills, talked

with industrialists, engineers, and commercial experts and tried to get a first-hand view of the causes which make it possible for Japan to undersell the world in such spectacular fashion in many lines of export trade, notably in textiles. It has often been said that the rapid growth of Japan's population may be attributed to the combination of an oriental birthrate with an occidental deathrate. The expansion of Japan's foreign trade may be set down, first of all, to an equally significant combination: an Eastern standard of living with a Western standard of industrial efficiency.

The visitor to one of the large Osaka spinning or weaving mills, or to one of the numerous silk filatures which are scattered through the smaller towns of the southwestern part of Japan's main island, is quick to recognize another factor which has strengthened Japan's competitive position in world trade. This is the successful adaptation of the traditional patriarchal Japanese family spirit to big industrial plants, employing thousands of operatives. There are no unions, not even company unions, in the Japanese textile mills. As a personnel manager in the Kanegafuchi works in Osaka remarked to me:

"We don't need any trade union. We are simply one large family, working for the good of the enterprise."

Working Conditions

The absence of trade unions does not mean that the Japanese mill worker is deliberately exploited or poorly treated. On the contrary, the typical Japanese factory manager is proud, in many cases quite justly so, of the arrangements for health, recreation, and education which are provided in the plant. Both the Kanegafuchi and the Toyo mills, which I was able to inspect personally in Osaka, were spick-and-span in outward appearance, with rows of trees planted on the factory grounds and a refreshing absence of the squalor that sometimes characterizes a poorly managed factory in other countries.

The dormitories in which the operatives live on the factory grounds would not have satisfied the needs of Western workers, with their almost complete absence of furniture and the futons or mattresses spread on the floor on which to sleep, but they were quite in line with Japanese living habits. It is safe to say that the peasant girl who goes to work in a large factory has more comfortable quarters and better food, provided in the company dining hall, than she would enjoy at home. Classes in a number of subjects, including the favored Japanese woman's art of flower arrangement, are held in free time. The Kanegafuchi mill, where there were more men workers, had excellent athletic equipment, a baseball field, tennis courts, and a swimming pool. The Toyo mill trained its girl workers not only in flower arrangement, but also in another well-known Japanese social grace—tea-ceremony.

All this speaks for the effort of Japanese factory paternalism to be benevolent, and there can be no question of the paternalistic nature of the system. The girls between the ages of fifteen and twenty-two who tend most of the looms and spindles are recruited from peasant families, as it is believed they will be stronger and more docile. The personnel manager in the Kanegafuchi mill told me that the city flapper type was not desired.

Hours and Wages

Working hours in the larger Japanese mills have been gradually reduced to eight and a half. But the work is intensive, and in matters

where the trade union often exerts a limiting influence on the employer in other countries, in questions of wages, speed-up methods, and working conditions, the manager's word in Japan is law. The money wage paid in Japanese mills is very low, even if one makes a very liberal allowance for the cash value of the food and housing which are supplied free or at a nominal charge. It averages in the entire textile industry about seventy-five sen a day for women and girls and about 1.35 or 1.40 yen for men, who usually perform more skilled labor. Even if one reckons the food, lodging, free medical and dental treatment, and other things which are given free, or for a small charge of perhaps fifteen sen a day, as worth another seventy-five sen, the girl operative earns the equivalent of less than fifty cents for a day's work, which is quite as productive as that of a girl in a Lancashire or New England mill town.

So long as Japan's population continues to increase faster than new jobs or opportunities for migration are opened up, it seems inevitable that the prevailing wage level should be low. The textile mills can count on an inexhaustible reserve of girl workers who can be recruited from peasant homes where their extra earnings are a valuable aid to the family budget, put through a course of training as apprentices, and then set to work for several years at the spindle or the loom.

Ever since 1929 there has been a downward trend in wages in the Japanese textile industry, while at the same time there has been a growth in efficiency, in output per operative. More work can be done with fewer laborers. For instance, it took 56.2 male workers to operate 10,000 spindles in 1929. In 1935 only 22.5 operatives were needed for the same number of spindles. In the case of women, the number required to tend 10,000 spindles declined from 206 to 160.2 during the same period. The number of male workers per hundred looms during the same time diminished from 12.5 to 5.8, and the number of women, from 50.2 to 37.5. At the same time the average daily wage for men workers in the cotton industry was reduced from 1.59 yen to 1.34 yen, while for women the decrease was from 1.14 yen to 73 sen. The daily wage expenditure per 10,000 spindles was reduced more than fifty percent, from 323.90 yen to 147.57 yen.

From the standpoint of social well-being, these figures, perhaps, offer no cause for rejoicing. They indicate that textile operatives are being obliged to do more work for less pay. They explain why the big annual gains in industrial production which Japan has been registering for several years have not absorbed more workers in industry. But the aid to the position of the Japanese exporter in relation to his foreign competitor is unmistakable, especially if one considers that the yen has depreciated in exchange value more than the pound or the dollar.

Salaries, as well as wages, are substantially lower in Japan than in Western Europe or America; so there is a saving in payments, not only to the laborer, but to the factory manager, the engineer, and the salesman.

A lower scale of wages and salaries, made possible by Japan's special traditions and habits in such matters as food, clothing, and housing, is an important cause, but by no means the sole cause of the country's spectacular advance in export trade. Many oriental countries have lower standards of living than Japan's without seriously invading foreign markets with their manufactured goods. An important point

to bear in mind is that Japan is far ahead of any Eastern land in industrial and engineering efficiency. Its factories, its railways, and its steamship lines function as smoothly as those of Western Europe or America. In many ways the organization of its textile industry compares favorably with that of Great Britain or the United States.

Industrial Advances

The time has long passed when Japan was going to school, industrially, in foreign countries. In going through a Japanese textile mill one notices that the machinery of some twenty years vintage is of British or American make. But practically all the newer machines bear the stamp of Japanese firms. Japan is especially proud of its Toyoda automatic loom, thirty or forty of which can be operated by a single worker. True, these looms are used mostly in weaving the coarser kinds of cloth; but it is just these coarser and cheaper grades of cloth with which Japan is able to conquer the Asiatic markets, where she has the further advantage of geographical nearness.

Japan enjoys several advantages over England in regard to the structure of its textile industry. The units of operation are fewer and larger. The concentration of production in the cotton yarn-spinning industry is evident from the fact that more than sixty percent of the spindles are owned by ten large companies. Moreover, a Japanese cotton mill is usually engaged not only in spinning, but also in weaving and finishing, whereas a division of functions is much more common in England.

The weaker Japanese companies were more ruthlessly weeded out during the depression; the stronger ones set aside ample reserves, instead of paying out all their profits in dividends. Consequently the financial position of the Japanese textile industry is strong; it is free from the heavy burden of debt and interest charges which clogs the progress of many of the British textile firms.

Cooperation

While Japan's leading textile firms are keen competitors and guard their trade secrets jealously, they have demonstrated unusual capacity for joint action on behalf of common interests. The Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, which controls about 97% of the total number of spindles in the country, exercises supervisory functions over production, dealings in raw material, sales of manufactured articles, and employment. The existence of such a strong central body eases the working of the quota systems which have been applied to Japanese exports in many countries. The Cotton Spinners' Association endeavors to adjust production to consumption by sealing up a proportionate number of the spindles belonging to its member firms, so that supply will not outrun demand too far.

The Cotton Spinners' Association promotes the development of Japanese foreign trade by raising a special fund from a levy on the profits of its members for the purpose of subsidizing imports from countries which demand that Japan should take more of their goods if they are to admit more Japanese wares. While labor in the Japanese textile industry is unorganized, capital is highly organized; and one provision of the regulations of the Cotton Spinners' Association states that "no worker can be taken on, while he or she is in the service of another employer, without the permission of that employer."

The depreciation of the yen is sometimes regarded as a main factor in Japan's remarkable foreign trade expansion. The abandonment of the gold standard and the subsequent de-

cline in the exchange value of the currency unquestionably stimulated Japanese industry and trade, just as Great Britain's recovery from the low point of the depression may be dated from the severing of the pound's link with gold, while American production and profits began to rise after the devaluation of the dollar. But there are disadvantages as well as advantages for the Japanese textile industry in the depreciation of the yen. While finished products may be sold more cheaply in foreign markets, imported raw material (and Japan imports all its cotton, much the largest part of it from the United States and British India) becomes more expensive. The depreciation of the yen seems to have been rather a temporary stimulus than a permanent factor in promoting Japan's advance on foreign markets.

The permanent factors in Japan's foreign trade success would seem to be: the lower standard of living, with the consequent lower wage cost; the noteworthy progress of the country in science, invention, and applied mechanical skill; and the high degree of coordination in foreign trade methods. The far-reaching interests of such big combinations of capital as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Yasuda, and Sumitomo facilitate close cooperation among manufacturer, banker, exporter, and shipper. Japanese export goods are usually shipped in Japanese vessels and often retailed by Japanese merchants in the lands to which they are sent.

Economic Barriers

In a world governed by the free-trade Manchester economics of the last century, Japan would have gone much farther in foreign trade. But it is the bad fortune of the Island Empire that it has come of age industrially at a time when economic theory and, still more, economic practice, has drifted far away from the ideals of Bright and Cobden. The advance of Japanese textiles has been increasingly slowed up, and this year seems likely to turn into a retreat as a result of a barrage of quota restrictions, discriminatory tariffs and other measures designed to curtail the inflow of cheap Japanese goods.

Last May, after negotiations looking to a voluntary restriction of Japanese textile imports had failed, President Roosevelt imposed an increase of forty-two percent in the tariff on Japanese cotton cloth. About the same time, Australia introduced a sharply increased rate of duty on non-British goods. Japanese exporters of rayon and cotton goods described these duties as prohibitive. As a reprisal the Japanese Government, invoking its Trade Protection Act, has instituted a regime of severe control of purchases from Australia, aiming at the complete elimination of Australian wheat and a maximum reduction in imports of Australian wool. The following items, taken at random from an instructive report which has just been issued by the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, show how sales of Japanese textiles are being checked in various parts of the world:

EGYPT

The Egyptian Government, on July 18, 1935, suddenly abrogated the Japan-Egypt trade convention and imposed an exchange indemnity *ad valorem* duty of forty percent on September 20.

DUTCH EAST INDIES

Since the failure of the Batavia trade conference, the Dutch East Indies Government has been issuing restrictive acts at intervals, making the importation of Japanese bleached, grey and cotton cloth and rayon textiles difficult.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

As a result of frequent tariff increases on Japanese goods, exports of cotton cloth have declined considerably.

GUATEMALA

Guatemala raised its tariff on imports of Japanese cotton cloth by one hundred percent in February, 1935.

These are only a few typical examples of a world-wide movement. More than sixty markets have imposed special restrictions on Japanese goods; less than thirty remain open on equal terms. It is significant that, while Japanese textile exports to countries where no special restrictions exist increased by 17.2% in 1935 over 1934, the gain in countries with high tariffs and exchange control systems was only 2.4%. In lands with quota systems, the position was virtually stationary, with an increase of only 0.1%.

The two most familiar forms of restriction on Japanese goods are especially high tariffs (sometimes based on the principle of alleged compensation for Japan's depreciated currency), and quota systems. Japan is sometimes able to surmount very high tariff walls. But quotas represent an almost impassable barrier. The difference in price between cheap Japanese goods and more expensive competitive products may sometimes encourage smuggling; but it is only in North China, where Chinese administrative power is paralyzed, that this can greatly augment the flow of Japanese goods.

There are three main causes of the restrictions so generally applied to Japanese wares. First is the desire to protect domestic producers, as in the case of the recent American tariff increase. Superior economic obligations to another state constitute another cause; Australia, for instance, has much closer financial and economic ties with Great Britain than with Japan and considered it desirable to give British goods a certain degree of preference. Finally, many countries, especially in Central and Eastern Europe and in South America, have become involved in currency difficulties which they have endeavored to meet by imposing more or less stringent restrictions on the purchase of foreign exchange. Such countries are unwilling to buy from any foreign nation much more than they are able to sell to it; and, as Japan is often unable to absorb, for example, the special South American products, the advance of its goods in these lands is hampered.

The rising trade barriers all over the world have supplied a ready argument to advocates of nationalist economics in Japan, who contend that no market is safe unless it is under Japanese political control. It is, however, quite impossible for Japan to go over to a purely self-centered nationalist economy, because the Empire and the countries which it more or less directly controls, such as Manchukuo and North China, are lacking in too many essential commodities. The indications are that, without neglecting the possibilities of Manchukuo and North China, Japan will endeavor to defend its world trade by concluding semi-barter commercial agreements, wherever possible, and by inflicting reprisals.

It would seem to be a reasonable economic policy for America and for other countries which sense the challenge to balance the advantages of Japan as a customer against the disadvantages of that nation as a competitor. Under normal conditions Japan is a large and regular buyer of Australian wool and American cotton. It is deliberately planning to cut down its purchases of the former commodity, substituting, so far as possible, staple fiber and wool from other countries. American restrictions on Japanese imports may, in time, lead to a similar effort to find substitutes for American cotton; indeed Japanese agents have already been industriously exploring the cotton-growing possibilities of North China and Siam, Brazil, and Peru, although the United States and British India still supply about ninety percent of the cotton used in Japanese mills.

BULGARIA STRUGGLES ON

King Boris guides his troubled ship in Europe's stormy waters

BY LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

WHEN a traveler from the West reaches the Bulgarian frontier, he finds before him a valley formed by one of the tributaries of the Nishava river. Right at the bottom of it lies a small village named Calotina. The village was formerly a Roman settlement, and it was through this valley that the Roman road to Byzantium and Asia used to pass. At a later period, the Crusaders followed the same road on their way to Constantinople. Thus, at the very gate, so to speak, of Bulgaria one finds the past projecting itself into the present—a glorious past, but a melancholy present.

Bulgaria has been an independent state for little more than half a century, and for the first twenty-five years of that period she was still a vassal of Turkey. Nevertheless, in that short time, Bulgaria waged four wars, two of which were disastrous to her. The wars, prompted by the irresistible impulse of the Bulgarian nation to achieve national unity (such as was provided for by the famous Treaty of San Stefano in 1878), proved that she was over-ambitious, or rather, that she had an over-ambitious ruler in King Ferdinand, since the means at his disposal were far from adequate to achieve Bulgaria's national aim. Today, Bulgaria has had her lesson, and is trying to forget.

Population

In discriminating among the various elements making up the present population of Bulgaria, it is difficult to discover any adequate criterion of race. Neither language nor religion affords an infallible test, for undoubtedly much racial mingling has occurred. Bulgarians probably constitute about 75% of the inhabitants, and the purest type is to be found in the mountain districts, the Ottoman conquest and subsequent colonization having rendered the population of the plains more mixed. Nowhere does the Bulgarian, however, show a pronounced Slavonic type, except in some of the larger cities where a small Russian group had settled, while in the central Balkans, the Ugrian or Finnish cast of features occasionally asserts itself.

The Bulgarian is an excellent soldier like his neighbor and rival, the Serb. But today Bulgaria is essentially a pacific state, mostly, of course, by force of circumstance. The country is surrounded by potential enemies —Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey—all members of the Balkan Entente, and commanding a combined population of 50 million against Bul-

garia's 6 million. These powers are armed, and, moreover, continue to arm, whereas Bulgaria has an Army of only 26,000 men with no possibility of increasing it, first of all because she does not possess the money for armaments, and second because of the limitations imposed by the Treaty of Neuilly.

Neighbors

At the close of the World War, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia lived like cat and dog, for Bulgaria resented the loss of Macedonia to Yugoslavia perhaps even more than the loss of Dobrudja to Rumania. When the situation became absolutely untenable, the late King Alexander of Yugoslavia and King Boris of Bulgaria took the matter into their own hands and, following two reciprocal personal visits, broke the ice, inaugurating a period of friendly manifestations on both sides. As a result of this royal initiative, both governments began to lift prohibitions and to stop persecutions, until then in effect.

Bulgaria's international relations were further improved by the suppression by the authoritarian government of the Macedonian Revolutionary Party in the country, which had come into power after the Army's *coup d'état* on May 19, 1934. This won particular favor in Yugoslavia and Greece, on whose territories the Macedonian irregulars, using Bulgaria as their base, committed innumerable outrages.

At first directed against the Turks, the activity of the Macedonian Revolutionary Party, organized before the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, is directed today against the Greeks and Yugo-slavs, who received the major portions of Macedonia after the World War. The Macedonians continued to find support in Bulgaria, by which they profited to such an extent that they almost created a government of their own in Sofia and conducted their activity of arson and murder, not only in Yugoslavia and Greece, thus endangering the international relations of Bulgaria, but also in Bulgaria itself. There they established a régime of terror directed against Bulgarian authorities when the latter refused to support the Macedonian movement. Political murder became the most common every-day event.

When the author visited Sofia recently, there took place a great gathering of gymnastic associations from the Slavic countries. Czechoslovaks, Poles, White Russians (emigrés) and Yugoslavs flocked to Sofia and fraternized with the Bulgarians who had come to their capital from all parts of the country. The Yugoslavs made it their business to see that a large number of their nationals were represented at this meeting and, indeed, nearly two thousand of them came to Sofia. King Boris, who has actually become an absolute monarch since the *coup d'état* and the abrogation of the constitution, made a special trip to Sofia from his summer residence on the coast of the Black Sea and was enthusiastically acclaimed by his subjects and the Yugoslavs alike. The latter's combined bands serenaded the Bulgarian sovereign on the palace grounds in the evening, thus adding a musical note to the manifestations of friendliness on the part of Yugoslavia for the sovereign of a country with which they had fought three wars. Time, the proverbial healer, and a spirit of good-will had performed a near-miracle.

This rapprochement of Bulgaria with Yugoslavia, as well as with her other neighbors, including the traditional enemy, Turkey, seems to be the keynote in the foreign policy of the present Bulgarian Government, composed of non-political men and headed by Mr. Kiosseivanov, a former diplomat of distinction and a man of

unquestioned integrity. The Government formed last November, is the third since the *coup d'état* of 1934. Like the first two, it relies on the support of the Army, which, as a group or class, represents the flower of all-round educated Bulgaria, and has the confidence of the King.

Government

The present Government of Bulgaria is striving to govern the country without parliament, yet without having recourse to prohibitive methods of dictatorship. It considers its task to be only temporary, in order to create a more adequate system of government. It is working on formation of a new constitution which would provide for a parliament of one chamber, but composed of three different types of deputies. These are:

1) Deputies elected by popular suffrage, but with restrictions as to their qualifications, mostly based on age and education. There are still many illiterates in Bulgaria, yet they all had a vote under the previous system and could send half-educated men into parliament.

2) Deputies elected by the professional corporations.

3) Deputies not elected but having a seat in parliament by right of office, like the presiding judge of the Supreme Court of Cassation (Bulgaria's supreme court), the president of the University of Sofia, the head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and all former Prime Ministers.

The proposed Constitution foresees a great reduction in the number of deputies. Its authors consider that the greater the number of parliamentarians, the more unwieldy the body becomes, and the less work it can produce. Formerly the Sobranye (parliament) contained 300 deputies, which was rather an exaggerated number for a population of six million. When the new constitution is ready, it will be submitted for popular approval, but how that popular approval will be obtained, whether by plebiscite or through a constituent assembly, it has not yet been decided.

Education

Other reforms also occupy the Government. Most noteworthy of these, perhaps, is that of the public school system. Until 1835, when the first Bulgarian school was founded at Gabrovo, education was entirely in the hands of the Greek clergy. Greek was the language of instruction; and the bulk of the population was totally illiterate. The upper classes sent their children to be educated abroad. During the last three decades of Turkish rule, educational committees began to appear in various places; they contributed more than any other institution to the intellectual and moral awakening of the nation and the foundation of an independent Bulgarian Church. Owing to the important part they played in the national revival, these committees have become traditional institutions, which have been embodied in all further developments of the educational system. They exist in every town and village, and exercise general supervision over primary schools. Each district also has its educational council, under the presidency of the district prefect, which superintends the application of educational laws, controlled by the Minister of Public Instruction.

After Bulgaria was freed from Turkish domination, efforts were made by the Government at great expense to

spread education. Progress was striking. In 1888 only 11% of the population was literate; today the proportion is probably well over 60%, the illiterate minority being composed mainly of aged persons and women. However, the spread of learning unfortunately has engendered a distaste for agricultural and industrial pursuits and has enormously increased the number of candidates for Government positions. In its early years of independence, Bulgaria was rendered an invaluable service by the American institution of Robert College on the Bosporus, which provides a number of well-educated young men fitted for positions of responsibility. The American school of Samokov in Bulgaria also has done much for the country.

Primary education today is obligatory for children between the ages of six and eleven. The schools are provided and maintained by the communes, but the teachers are paid by the State. The problem of reform is concerned primarily with secondary education. When visiting Sofia the author went to see General Radev, then Minister of Public Instruction, who explained in a few words the gist of the educational reform now in progress.

"The greatest educational problem we are facing in Bulgaria," he said, "is how to cope with the overproduction of semi-intellectuals, and at the same time how to eliminate the existence of a still greater number of illiterates. Until now everybody who had just learned how to read and write wanted to go to a high school. But the high school did not prepare the majority of its students for a useful and profitable career. A boy or a girl graduating from a high school does not know any trade or profession and is not prepared for an intellectual career, either. Therefore, most of them become an unproductive element in the State—an embittered element at that—and either vegetate as small clerks in cities or, when returning to their villages, become local politicians. My plan is to limit the number of those people. For this purpose the Government has created a series of professional schools and has increased the number of primary schools. And we hope that in time our people will realize the advantages of possessing a profession or a trade in order to become a useful and productive element in the State."

This practical approach to the solution of educational problems is noted also in other fields of governmental endeavor. One can notice this new trend of a *realpolitik* in finance, in commerce, in foreign affairs. When the author went to see Mr. Kiosseivanov, who holds the portfolio of foreign affairs in addition to being Prime Minister, he found simplicity and understanding which he did not encounter in any other Balkan statesman. There is no doubt that Bulgaria is in a difficult position and that to be her Minister of Foreign Affairs one has to have, not only vision and determination, but also courage. First, there is the question of the Balkan Pact. When Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia signed that famous document guaranteeing mutual assistance for the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in the Balkans, Bulgaria's refusal to join was interpreted as a sign of her revisionism. It is true that Bulgaria wants her frontiers revised—but not by war. She relies on the possibility of a peaceful revision, according to the provisions of Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. She has manifested her peaceful intentions by offering to sign non-aggression pacts with her neighbors. The offer, however, was rejected. Under the present Government, Bulgaria does not chase

chimeras any more; she wants to live and let live.

Economics

Looking into the economic status of Bulgaria, one finds the same ills common to all agricultural countries since the World War—a cheapness of agricultural products incommensurate with the high prices of manufactured goods. This results, of course, from the policy of many industrial countries to develop their agriculture under a protective system, thus closing the market for products from countries essentially agricultural. Faced with such discrimination against their products, agricultural countries in retaliation closed their frontiers to imports of manufactured goods, or raised a tariff barrier beyond reason. Thus an impasse was reached from which countries try to extricate themselves by tariff bargaining, quotas, and other artificial means. But all this cannot radically better the situation, because it does not touch the root of the evil: the desire of most European countries to become self-sufficient.

In Bulgaria we have the picture of an essentially agricultural country with 80% of the population living on the land, or from the land; with some natural resources (mostly undeveloped); with industry in its infancy; and with practically no great capital available for the exploitation of natural riches. We find this country struggling along for the sake of sheer existence, unable to break the barriers created after the World War and helpless in the face of selfish economic policies adopted by all countries. Yet there are very few people in Bulgaria today who go hungry, since there is practically no industrial proletariat, the industrial worker being employed in that capacity only during the winter when he cannot work on the farm. However, there are many, particularly among the peasants, who buy no manufactured products at all, who dress in homespun, who wear primitive home-made shoes, who live today as their forefathers lived, as though time has stopped for them and the progress of civilization has gone by without touching them.

But lately some improvement can be noticed in Bulgaria's economic situation. Due to a drastic regulation of imports undertaken by the authoritarian Government, Bulgaria had a favorable balance of trade in 1934 and 1935. At the same time, a policy of stringent economy has permitted the Government to balance its budget, and this for the first time during the last ten years. Thus a light of hope is perceivable.

To the question, How popular is the authoritarian Government?, the answer is twofold: The majority of thinking people with whom the author came into contact are quite satisfied with the present quasi-dictatorship, since it has brought about order and is endeavoring to save Bulgaria from economic and political chaos. As for the masses, they are still largely under the influence of their former political leaders who are obviously opposed to the present non-political Government. In Sofia, the author visited Professor Alexander Tsankov, leader of the Bulgarian National Socialist Party, which has nothing in common with the German Nazis except the name. Mr. Tsankov, former Prime Minister and ex-president of the University of Sofia, is opposed to the present Government mainly because it is unconstitutional. Although he became Prime Minister also after a *coup d'état* which ended the career and life of Stamboliysky in 1923, he has no sympathy with the present regime. As a wise man, however, he advocates patience.

Since all political parties are banned in Bulgaria, political activity is carried on today only through personal intercourse and secret channels. But there is no doubt that political struggle will be renewed as soon as the present Government presents its new constitution. Then one may expect great changes, and it is not at all unlikely that Professor Tsankov may once more become Prime Minister.

One should not omit to mention the role of King Boris. Even under the old constitution he was the unchecked executive of the Bulgarian state. He conducted the foreign policy of his country without interference from the legislature, and he was master of the situation at all times as commander-in-chief of the Bulgarian Army. His popularity with the soldiers may be traced to his active service in the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and in the World War. And it is interesting to note that while Bulgaria was an ally of Germany in the last-named conflict, it was the only such ally against which the United States did not declare war.

Bulgaria and the Straits—The question of the fortification of the Dardanelles is one that most immediately concerns Bulgaria. In the given circumstances it is naturally of the greatest importance to Bulgaria that the Straits should remain in a demilitarized condition, with their freedom guaranteed. For Bulgaria has no door towards the open sea except the Dardanelles. Without them the Black Sea would be an inland sea and the economic disadvantages of that would, from Bulgaria's point of view, be incalculable. She has had experience of those disadvantages in the past, and for that reason her claim to a free passage to the Ægean Sea was acknowledged. * * * Should the Turks get their way with the Dardanelles it will involve the fortification of Eastern Thrace, Bulgaria's immediate neighbor, where anyhow the work of extensive fortification has been going on. The attitude of the Turkish press reveals that the proposed measure is undoubtedly aimed against Bulgaria too. * * * We know that Turkey has more than once had recourse to the expedient of closing the Straits. This is the very point that so often in the past accentuated the problem of the Near East. There is therefore every reason to fear that a fortification of the Dardanelles might re-open the problem, were Turkey to abandon her policy of peace. If despite this Bulgaria acquiesces in the fulfilment of the Turkish demands, the reasons are twofold. On the one hand she respects the sovereign rights of other States, she knows this is the first step towards a peaceful revision of the peace treaties. As a result of the latter Bulgaria expects the restoration of her equality of right and the guarantee of a corridor providing an outlet on the Ægean Sea.

Danubian Review, April, 1936.

A digest of comment quoted or translated from the original—

THEY SAY:

sometimes important . . . often amusing . . . always authentic

BOTH Loyalists and rebels in Spain have been indulging in a vicious radio propaganda war.

The Madrid short wave radiocasting station worked at high temperature during the first days of the Spanish upheaval. A highly excited and emotional news commentator, specially designated by the Loyalist Government, broadcast reams of hot words about the great battle raging in Spain. But so eager was the Loyalist commentator to tell the world his side had the upper hand that fantastic claims poured into the "mike."

"Allo! Allo!" he would say, for instance. "This is Madrid! the voice of Spain! The Government wishes to announce that it has the situation well under control. The trouble is only around the miserable little group of Army officers and the legitimate government will have it all cleaned up in 24 hours."

The rebels, on the other hand, with their control over the Seville radiocasting station, have also shared in broadcasting "hot" news favorable to themselves. A few days after the uprising in Spain had begun, they suddenly announced that a provisional rebel government had been established in the whole country and that the struggle would soon end.

Spain's present Constitution is unworkable, harmful, and unadaptable to the needs and welfare of our country and therefore will be a constant invitation to civil war.

—Niceto Alcala Zamora, ex-President of Spain, in a forthcoming book.

Spain is in the midst of a civil war whose scope has been completely underestimated by those who started it. Peace won't come when the fight ends. Human passions will carry on and keep alive the fires of hate. A new blaze may break out anew once more.

In wars between nations, when the fighting is finished, the participants lose all contact with one another. But when a civil war ends, both victors and vanquished must live together still. Hatreds will continue long after a truce comes in this civil war of ours. * * * All this has been caused by men who say they want to save Spain.

—Indalecio Prieto, Spanish Socialist leader, interviewed by *Informaciones*, Madrid, August 4, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

"Corpses Piling Up. . . ."

During these five years, our 30,000,000 brothers have become slaves, and have suffered all forms of brutalities at the hands of the invaders. Every day we hear of the shooting of Chinese; burying of Chinese alive; and arresting or detaining of Chinese. Every day, we see one village after another being reduced to ashes. Even districts near Harbin have met the same fate. In the winter of 1933, by air bombardments and by artillery and machine-gun fire, thousands of persons were killed on many successive days and nights with the corpses piling up in Sen Ku Hsu near Harbin.

In the winter of 1933, in the Eastern Hills, the invaders happened to see some Chinese wood-cutters, and said to them that "all these are bad fellows." Machine-guns were at once turned on them, causing about 70 deaths.

"In Harbin, Changchun (now capital of Manchukuo), Dairen, etc., whenever it was found that the prisons were too crowded with Chinese prisoners, the prisoners have been taken out, in batches one after another, and shot to death.

The account went on to say that in Harbin, Changchun, Fengtien (Mukden), etc., most of the Japanese own many ferocious dogs, who are trained to eat human corpses. It is alleged that not infrequently the invaders have fed their dogs with Chinese prisoners. The Japanese are quoted as having said, "To feed dogs with beef costs money, but to feed them with slaves costs

nothing." When the invaders want to construct railways or highways for military purposes they use any land at will without paying compensation of any kind to the owners of the land. Further, the invaders do not permit the farmers to plant kaoliang near or on either side of the railway line. They force the local people to organize the so-called "Protecting the Railway Village." In the event of any destruction to the railway, the people of the village are held responsible.

Every group of ten families has to guarantee the conduct of the others. In the event of one of them being suspected of anti-Japanese activities, the other nine families will be held responsible and will receive the same punishment.

—*The China Weekly Review*, Shanghai, June 20, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Key to Peace

It has become a European truth that the Little Entente, working in close cooperation with the Balkan Pact, is the basis of consolidation, of balance, and of peace in Central Europe today.

I should like these words from Bucharest to be heard in all the capitals of Europe. The Little Entente holds the key to the vault of Central European structure and of the peace of Europe as a whole It is a pillar without which the European edifice would crumble in the midst of a conflict whose consequences are incalculable.

—Edvard Benes, President of Czechoslovakia, at a dinner tendered by King Carol of Rumania, at Bucharest.

Czechoslovakia steadfastly supported the idea of Austria's independence, though knowing all the while that without the consent and cooperation of Germany it would be difficult of attainment. Therefore, Czechoslovakia always felt that any combination which sets Austria against Germany could not endure, because Austria could not withstand it. But it felt, at the same time, that some sort of an agreement among Germany, Austria, and the rest of Europe with regard to Austria's integrity was possible withal, and the present understanding is the first step on the road towards it.

Hence, Czechoslovakia views the new [Austro-German] agreement factually and calmly, and will let final judgment await the effects of its practical application. It assumes the realistic point of view, regarding things as they are.

It appears that Austria has obtained for herself valuable guarantees, and these should also be valid for Czechoslovakia. At the same time, it is appreciated full well that things may, in the course of development, take on an untoward direction, and consequently, that the situation in Central Europe will stand careful watching. *A priori*, however, we wouldn't wish to mistrust and suspect in the agreement God-knows-what designs Germany may have upon Central Europe. * * *

—Editorial, *Prager Presse*, Czechoslovakia, July 14, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Paris: Pro and Con

Messrs. Blum and Delbos intend reforming, or rather reinforcing, the League. An excellent idea.

But because the pact has not worked is no reason to tear it up.

The League is not the only organ created by men that is imperfect. Decades were necessary to give our country a Constitution. Some time will be needed—maybe a lot—to give the universe one.

The essential is for France to persevere in the organization of what she has always wanted. "The word peace," said Romain Rolland, "has for so long adorned both tombstones and harvests." France must see that it adorns only harvests.

—*Petit Journal*, Paris.

Communism in France is not against private ownership of property or even industry; it is only opposed to capitalistic property, to big business and the trusts.

—Maurice Thorez, prominent French Communist leader, in a speech at Paris, July 17, 1936.

It is difficult to say that France is going to try a "Roosevelt experiment." We only follow from afar a model being moulded in a very different country from ours. What use have we for a "Roosevelt experiment" anyway? The program of the French Popular Front is sufficiently formulated to be applied. France does not need to copy either Leninism, Rooseveltism, or Fascism.

—*La République* (Radical-Socialist), Paris.

The Popular Government does not like the patriotic demonstrations of those demanding order and liberty. Those that carry the tricolor flag and sing the *Marseillaise* are treated as dangerous people. But citizens carrying the red flag and singing the *Internationale* receive from the public authorities more gracious attention. The parades shouting hate and indulging in threatening gestures are worth more, in the eyes of M. Blum, for the security and prosperity of France than the demands of those who want union in liberty, sing the national anthem, and display the emblems of patriotism.

—*Journal des Débats* (Rightist), Paris.

Surprise!

The political actions of the Third Realm are invariably conceived as though they were military actions. It acts with the greatest speed and resolution and always tries to take its opponents—who are themselves by no means fully aware that they are, amid all the amenities and courtesies of normal diplomatic intercourse, regarded as opponents—by surprise. That is one of the reasons why its major actions are carried out on Saturdays. The Third Realm is, above all, concerned to secure the fullest advantage of that surprise in Great Britain, for of all the Powers Great Britain is still the most feared and respected, though less so than formerly. The English week-end is a kind of shock-absorber, and the German calculation is that Great Britain will not react sharply on a Saturday afternoon, that she will remain passive on a Sunday, and that by Monday the Third Realm will have consolidated its newly occupied positions and can no longer be dislodged. Just as the Rhineland was reoccupied on a Saturday, so the Danzig Nazis acted on a Saturday.

—*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, July 24, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

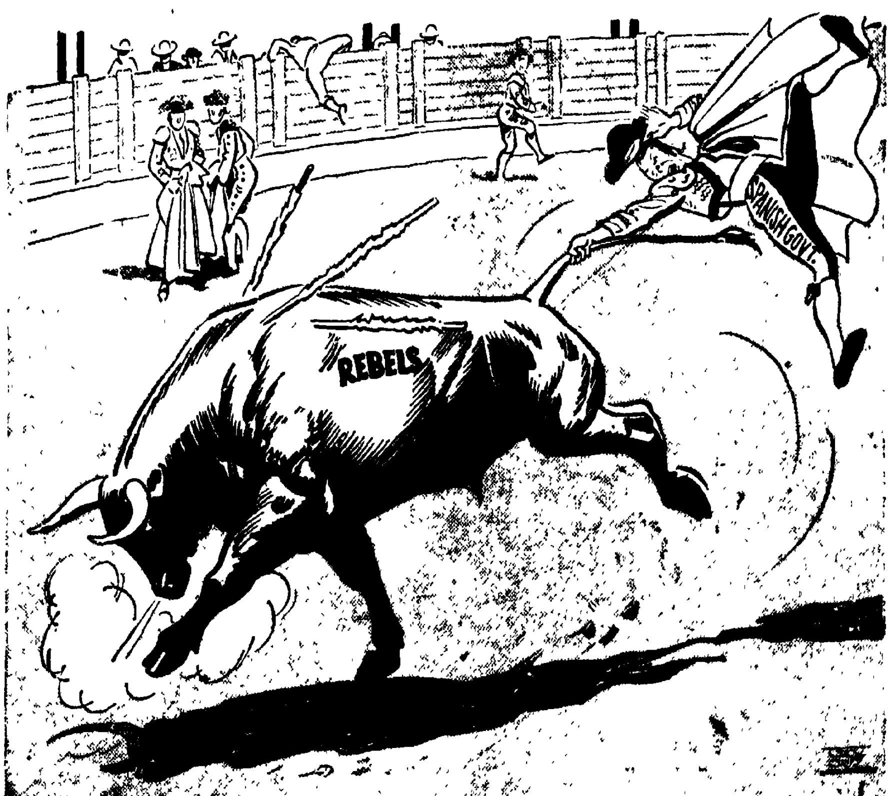
Dear Enemy:

"You are Captain Haig, the Australian? I am Ernst Udet. You have heard of me. Your squadron shot down my friend in the war, and behind the lines you gave him a good time. I will give you a good time."

That was the greeting received by Captain F. W. Haig, one of the best-known air personalities in Australia, when he landed by air-liner at Tempelhof drome, Berlin, on his recent world tour studying aviation.

Udet, a famous war ace, is very wealthy, and he took Haig to his luxurious Berlin flat that night, where a number of German flying officers were gathered to entertain him.

"The walls of this magnificent establishment were decorated with bullet-riddled and blood-stained pieces of some of the 78 British aircraft



"THE GOVERNMENT DOMINATES THE SITUATION."—Official statement from Spain.

which Udet shot down in the war," said Haig. "Yet no man could have been more hospitable to an ex-enemy."

—*The Herald*, Melbourne.

❖ ❖ ❖

Jew and Cossack

You live in a poisoned atmosphere. The captions in the daily papers seem like the heads of beast-of-prey, freshly out of the jungle. * * * *In such times as this, the story of the meeting of* Cossacks and Jews, near Zlatopol in the Ukraine, acts like an anti-toxin against the poisoned atmosphere. * * * The national and religious beasts had been frequent visitors in these steppes, from the days of Chmelnitzki down to the days of Petlurs. * * * More than 500 pogroms took place in the Ukraine during the Civil War, * * * the descendents of Mazeppa letting loose upon Jewish towns to rob, debauch, and rape. * * *

Today there flourish in the same district several Jewish settlements, tens of towns and villages. There are cows in the pastures and there are tractors in the fields. And Cossacks, Mazeppa's own great grandchildren, are visiting these settlements, but only to greet them.

Who should step forward to welcome the Cossack delegation? Who but the septuagenarians Aaron Berditchev and Neche Lanievska, Jewish soil tillers. * * *

"Sixteen years ago," recalls Aaron, "the mere rumor of approaching Cossacks was enough to frighten the life out of Jews. Today we are happy to greet them as brothers."

Neche Lanievska could say even more than that. Her father and brother were murdered by Machno brigands, Cossacks. Today she is presenting the head of the Cossack delegation with flowers. * * *

—*Neue Volkszeitung*, Warsaw, July 11, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Suicide Clinic

Inspired by constant press reports of suicides, single, double, and wholesale, the Japan Suicide Prevention Society opened for business on June 12 in the Education Hall at Hitotsubashi, Kanda Ward, under the direction of Mr. Ryunosuke Kobayashi, 43, of Araimachi, Nakano Ward, who is known as "the suicide specialist."

His office will be a clinic for the woes of persons who see death as the only way out, says the Chugai Shogyo. Mr. Kobayashi will give them advice on the basis of 20 years study of such problems. He plans shortly to call a meeting of educators and social workers to lecture on the prevention of suicide. The new society will also seek the establishment of proper institutions for the prevention of self-destruction, sponsor investigations and publish literature on the subject and show motion pictures. A memorial service for young men and women who have committed shinju or love suicide together is planned for the bon festival on July 15.

Love entanglements, the desire to be united in death, illness, family trouble, debts, poverty and similar reasons annually lead to the suicide of 20,000 persons in Japan, it was stated.

Trans-Pacific, Tokyo, June 18, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Our "Radical Pacificism"

I bring back the impression from my few days spent in America, where I conversed with many friends that have lived many years in the country, that public opinion is not, in principle, favorable to our African cause. This is due in part to Anglophile sentiments coming from the majority of those of Anglo-Saxon origin and partly to a radical pacifism whose character is purely American. People do not seem to have any precise idea of the demographic, economic, and social aims of Italy for colonial expansion that are, in reality, pacific, in spite of the opposition of Geneva.

—Professor Alessando do Ghigi, Rector of University of Bologna, Italy, in press interview as reported in *Progresso Italo-Americano*, New York City, August 3, 1936.

We have roughly stated the case for the pacifist; but there is one weakness. What of the defensive war? Are you going to allow semi-insane dictators to over-run your country, the others will ask, while you stand huddled together like the lot of pacifist sheep that you are? Such a person surely exposes himself to the censure of being timid and cowardly to the point of placing self before country. This might appear as a deathly blow for the pacifist argument but for the all too prominent fact that, through centuries of practice, statesmen and financiers are now known to have become extremely adept at coining glamorous slogans with which to inveigle the masses into a new slaughter. For sober analysis and reflection have all too frequently revealed that such wars, conducted ostensibly in defence of one's own home and country and democracy and little nations, were in reality fought in defence of old markets or the acquiring of new ones. The last war, we need hardly add, is an egregious case in point. And what guarantee have we that mankind will not again capitulate to the Gadarene swine mentality when the pulpit, platform and Press are brought full blast into action? The pacifist has again recovered his position; but one point has at the least emerged, that if a defensive war is to be fought it must be a truly defensive one with no sham about it. Did not Mussolini once prove to his own satisfac-

tion that the invasion of Abyssinia resulted from the Abyssinian attack on the Italians at Wal Wal?

But the issue of defensive war does not by any manner of means exhaust the subject of pacifism. It is, above all, necessary to satisfy ourselves that everything has been done to prevent the possibility of war, defensive or otherwise. If we are to be treated to frequent and immoderate mustard poultices from the enemy aeroplanes, let us at least make certain that this "burning" question has been fully gone into by our diplomats and politicians, and that every conceivable step has been taken to avert the disaster. * * * It is only the closest scrutiny of the actions of the old gang of diplomats by the people as a whole that can prevent such a disaster overtaking us.

—*South African Opinion*, June 26, 1936.

Nazi Arithmetic

Taken from a German school-book:—

"A squadron of forty-six bombing areoplanes throws bombs at a town of an enemy. Every aeroplane possesses 500 bombs weighing 1,500 kilograms each. Calculate the weight of all the bombs together. How many fires will the bombs cause if every third explodes and every twentieth causes a fire?"

"Bombing aeroplanes, flying during the day, go at a speed of 280 kilometres an hour. Night bombing aeroplanes can only fly at 240 kilometres an hour. How many hours will each class of bombing aeroplanes need to cover the area between Breslau and Prague, Munchen and Strassburg, Kiel and Metz?"

These two sums are taken at random from the new school-books. Children of ten use them.

—*The Observer*, London, July 5, 1936

Shaliapin's Eulogy of Gorky

They brought into my cabin, on the *Normandie* sailing from New York to Havre, the daily bulletin published aboard, and on its front page I beheld in bold type the words: "*Gorky est Mort.*" I shall never be able to communicate the force with which that frightful news struck me.

I lay on my bed, my eyes closed and my mind conjuring up the human figure in dark jacket, with lively eyes and a magnificent crop of hair combed backwards, that was seated on a window-sill in the foyer of the Nijni-Novgorod theater. The young but already stooping man said to me: "I am happy to have made your acquaintance, Shaliapin; as I told you yesterday, you are one of us, genuinely so. * * *"

Indeed, the evening before, after I got through performing in *Life for the Czar*, this very man entered my dressing-room, announced himself as Gorky, and, in the queer Nijni-Novgorod accent which never left him, said to me:

"How well you portray the Russian *moujik* [peasant]! And even though I am no admirer of the German style of acting, the way you cry at the mention of Susanin's children I like very much. * * *"

Such was my first meeting with Gorky—the beginning of a life-long, deep and sincere friendship. * * *

It is commonly believed that Gorky and I spent our childhood and youth in each other's company, that we labored together on the Volga and that we even stood examination together at a choir rehearsal, with the result that Gorky was accepted into the choir, and I was rejected. * * * That is not true. Once Gorky asked me who I was, and, while unfolding before him my biography, it transpired indeed that we were often enough rubbing elbows without being aware of it, and that our experiences, too, had been strikingly similar.

Thus, for example, while I worked as a shoemaker's apprentice in the city of Kazan, Gorky worked in the same city in a bakery that was situated just around the corner. At the dawn of my seventeenth year, I traveled on a freight steamer heading for Nijni-Novgorod. Being absolutely without funds, I was obliged to do stevedore work en route along the Volga. It transpired that at that very time Alexai Maximovitch, too, was engaged as stevedore in the port of Samarsk.

As for the choir adventure, it is true that the two of us responded simultaneously to Serebriakov's call "to come and fill his choir with young voices." They accepted Gorky but rejected me. But that was because Gorky was four years my senior, with a voice already formed, whereas mine was still cracking. * * *

What sort of man, then, was Alexai Maximovitch?

I think that almost anyone wearing a black jacket will give the impression of physical well-being. However, only in a public bath-



RATHER LATE TO MAKE THIS STATEMENT, EDEN:

"What does the fellow want with me? I have told him that the League of Nations only helps those that help themselves."

—*Die Welt am Sonntag, Munich*

house will one give a clear account of himself. Gorky and I often visited the bathhouse in each other's company, and I observed that his back, while not exactly hunched, was shaped like a pair of wings. His chest was sunken and the veins of his legs were unusually large. Also, there were a multitude of scars all over his body, by then hardened and grown callous. I said to him once:

"Are you, brother of mine, suffering from your back that you strain your veins so?" In reply, he related to me a few incidents which I shall never forget.

"Eh, Feodor, my brother, it isn't so bad anymore. But see this?" He revealed a deep scar in the pit of his chest. "It is the result of playing foolhardy with an automatic pistol while despairing of life. . . ."

"How so, and why?"

"I could see no sense in life, with so much falsehood and heaviness about you. But when they moved me to the Kazan hospital for treatment, and my friends came to visit me, and one of them eyed me reproachfully and shook his head at me, saying, 'Eh, you, ficklehead, aspiring to become a writer yet,' would you believe, Feodor, that my desire to live then suddenly flared up in me and grew very strong,—stronger even than it is today? Here is where I shot myself, and here are my broken ribs. . . ."

"What fine manners you have, then to shoot yourself, and now to break your own ribs," I said jestingly.

"I didn't break my own ribs; others did that for me. Here is how: At one of the villages I chanced to pass I suddenly stumbled on the following scene: A woman, entirely nude and her hair disheveled, stood harnessed to a cart, in the place of a horse, while several *moujiks* sitting in it were lashing her furiously with their knouts. That was for being unfaithful to her husband. Nearby, in silent approval, stood the village priest.

"You can well imagine how the spectacle affected me. I ran to the scene and shouted, 'What is it you are doing, you——! Have you gone clear out of your heads?'

"The priest said to me: 'And who may you be, and what may your business here be?' I then turned loose upon the cleric. Well, it was in a ditch that I 'came to,' and that, I believe, thanks only to an accidental rain which sent its cold water to the ditch to revive me. With great difficulty, virtually creeping on my belly, I made my way to the village hospital, and these are the ribs for you. . . ."

I am sure that these scars and the deeds that produced them remained deeply and permanently embedded in the recesses of this man Gorky. The nude woman lacerated with knouts, the tortuous work along the Volga with its human groans, the homelessness, the despair of it all—not his despair alone but of millions of people like him—that was what engendered in him the doubt about the sense and rightness of living, that is what discharged the bullet into Gorky's chest!

❖ ❖ ❖

Whatever else might be said of Alexai Maximovitch, this one thing I know deeply and firmly, without a trace of doubt: that all his thoughts and feelings and actions, all his achievements and failures, sprung from but one source—the Volga, that great Russian river, and the human groans it had caused. And if Gorky managed to forge ahead, impetuously and full of faith, it was because of the vision of a better future for the people that inspired him. Even when he strayed, perhaps, and got off the beaten path which others believed to be the right path, it was again solely at the behest of the people's goal he envisaged.

And when I hear it whispered about Gorky's rich life, at Capri or at Sorrento, or about his great wealth generally, it makes me feel ashamed of people. Certainly, I can tell, because I know it full well, that Gorky was one of those who are perennially penniless, despite their great earnings. It was not on himself that he spent. He has had no love for money, and wasn't even interested in possessing it. * * * The truth is, he hasn't provided for

all on which he so generously and munificently spent.

—Feodor Shaliapin's eulogy of Maxim Gorky; translated from the Russian *Posliednia Novosti*, Paris, July 10, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Changing Trade Policies

The international trade the world will see in coming years will not exactly be that of pre-war times. Whether we like it or not, we must face the fact that national regulation of economic life within some countries is going to continue. Certain forms of regulation of international trade will, therefore, continue also. It is possible that some kind of international clearing institute to help make the necessary arrangements for three-cornered trade under such circumstances, would be useful. Of course, in a world of free trade "three-cornered" trade looks after itself. But if some countries continue a bilateral policy, other countries might combine certain import and export transactions and so be able to trade with those countries much more than would otherwise be possible. This implies a "three-cornered agreement" that might be arranged with the help of an international institute.

—Professor Bertil Ohlin, Stockholm, Sweden, in a paper read recently before the International Chamber of Commerce, Paris.

It is yet too early to form an opinion as to the results of the policy embodied in the six treaties made with European countries by the United States. They are certainly characterized by remarkable consistency. But American import duties have, in general, remained high, even after the reductions [provided for in the treaty]. The practical effects of the most-favored-nation clause have been deliberately limited * * * The conclusion of these agreements is obviously a step in the right direction, but a still more decisive step forward will have to be made if any improvement worthy of that term is to be brought about in international trade.

Gustave L. Gérard, Secretary, Belgian National Committee, International Chamber of Commerce, in *World Trade*, Paris, for July-August.

❖ ❖ ❖

Nero Incarnate

Rafaël Trujillo Leonidas y Molina [a Negro] has held absolute power over his country [Santo Domingo] since 1930. His imperial ambitions are, therefore, not new. Don Rafael showed this at the start of his career, when he declared blandly before both Legislative bodies of the island: "Don't see in me a Mark Antony, but a Julius Cæsar. I shall not talk, but act. And know that I also incarnate Nero. I wouldn't hesitate to set fire to the island of Santo Domingo if necessary to remake it more beautiful, happier, and modern!"

—*De Telegraaf*, Amsterdam.

❖ ❖ ❖

Our "Braying Tenor"

Probably it is the manner rather than the subject matter of Father Coughlin's performances that ruffles many adherents of his faith. His thinking is anything but clear-cut; yet his addresses are delivered with an air of sanctimonious omniscience.

His voice, a fine braying tenor, has a great range of emotional expression. He can paint a heart-rending picture of the plight of the poor in accents which the crooner himself could not better. He can rise to heights of mellifluous eloquence; he can plumb the depths of melodramatic vituperation and denunciation * * *

The stony-hearted bankers are the successors of the money-changers whom Christ drove from the Temple; the capitalists are the modern Pharisees; the opponents of inflation are "the wily servants of the murderous High Priests of capitalism."

Liberty bonds are "Bloody Bonds." The greenbacks, which, when Father Coughlin's cause triumphs, are to be "the servants, not the masters, of a friendly people," are "clean, crisp American money."

If the mouths of his listeners do not water as they listen to this kind of thing, that is not for want of any flights of imagination by Father Coughlin * * *

—*The Herald*, Melbourne.



KAISER: "You have been standing here—an hour—with that child-like expression and have said nothing."

LORD GEORGE: "I was told to tell it to the Old Kaiser, but have forgotten what."

—*Il Travaso*, Rome



THE POLITICAL OPEN CHAMPIONSHIP

Stan: "Take your niblick. Keep your eye on the ball. Slow back and follow through."
Anthony: "Quite! Where's the ball?"

—Glasgow Record

Italian Hegemony

Italian political circles say the reconstruction of Europe must follow two main lines: collaboration of the big powers and reorganization of the Danubian basin. Italy must head this movement. The Austro-German pact was the signal for Italy's official reentry into the European concert. Italo-German friendship will form the basis of Italian policy. In case no agreement can be reached in Europe, the Italo-Austro-Hungarian-German bloc would be self-sufficient, at least politically.

—Reported by Rome correspondent of *Le Temps*, Paris, July 12, 1936.

Because of the vigilance necessary during the World War, France's Mediterranean policy took the line of close cooperation with England and Greece and antagonism to Italy. This situation, as a study of the problem shows now, is destined to undergo profound changes.

—Pietro Silva in *Rassegna di Politica Internazionale*, Milan, March, 1936

Bulgaria's Elections

The legislative elections to be held in Bulgaria next October will be absolutely free and conducted on the basis of the secret ballot.

A change of government will not alter Bulgaria's foreign policy which is: loyalty to the League of Nations, friendship with all neighboring countries and cordial relations with all other states.

—Premier Kousselvonov of Bulgaria to the foreign press in an interview on July 11, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Rumanian Viewpoint

From a point of view of Rumanian foreign policy, the remilitarization of the Straits (Dardanelles) is favorable. The possibility of defending the Straits against any eventual attacks in the present international situation contributes materially to the security of the Balkan Peninsula and also to all countries bordering the Black Sea. "All that relates to Turkish secur-



"PLENTY TO EAT" —*The Star, London*



WITH ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO A FAMOUS PEARS SOAP ADVERTISEMENT

"HE WON'T BE HAPPY TILL HE GETS IT!"

—*Glasgow Record*

ity," said Mr. Titulescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, recently, "also touches Rumanian security, while all that relates to the Black Sea also interests our country to the highest degree, the Black Sea and the Dardanelles being Rumania's sole outlet to an open sea."

—*Adeverual*, Bucharest, June, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Mission in Finland

According to the *Helsingin Sanomat*, 55 Japanese sportsmen, en route to the Berlin Olympiad, have stopped over at Helsingfors, Finland, and will remain there until the opening of the Olympiad.

A curious feature in connection with this is the special interest in Finland which Japan began to manifest of late and which expressed itself, among other things, in a recent visit to Finland by a group of Japanese high-ranking military officers. Likewise, it has become known that in the near future Japan will have a regular minister in Finland, with a staff of 20 people. Until now Japan was represented in Helsingfors by an attorney and a military attaché.

The establishment of a permanent consulate is especially interesting in view of the fact that the commercial turnover between Finland and Japan is nil, while according to available information, there are no Japanese in Finland whose interests might need the protection of such a mission.

—Cable from Helsingfors to *Isvestia*, U.S.S.R., July 3, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

"Deviations" in Russia

It is difficult, indeed, to follow the deviations * * * that take place these days in the U.S.S.R. —they are so numerous and so surprising! How long was it since the passion to destroy everything created by former Russia was held to be "proletarian valor"; how long since the life and history of the Russian people were deemed to have begun only with the "Great October"? But suddenly, Soviet pathos turns face about: "Not to destroy, but conserve the past; not to besmirch and antagonize, but to study it and be proud of it." * * *

This is such a sharp turn that when we come across confirming evidences of it in the Soviet press, we somehow cannot believe that it is a Soviet paper we are holding in our hands. The language is so different and the psychology is so different. * * *

Felix Kon, the Director of the Museum Department of the People's Commissariat of Education, has published an article in the *Kommunisticheskoye Prosveshtchenie* under the strikingly non-proletarian title, *Preserve the Cultural Monuments and the Revolution*. "It often happens," says he, "that monuments are destroyed before the very eyes of the inhabitants, but no one protests." * * *

This article of Felix Kon calls forth in the breast of every Russian a feeling of satisfaction and a sigh of relief: At last they bethought themselves!

—Editorial from *Poslèdnia Novosti*, organ of the Liberal Russian Emigré, Paris, July 1, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

For An American Bloc

The Americas not only produce raw materials, but include a solid bloc of 250 million consumers whose capacity to absorb manufactured goods is increasing. A great nation fully industrialized, and others partially so, now exist on our continents. It should be easy to link up their economic interests and establish an economic bloc outside of those nations which use the strangling process of economic isolation.

An American bloc is necessary to preserve order and keep political balance. Within an agreement for common defense, our continental aims and interests can develop securely towards the future thus giving an example of international collaboration that will repudiate armed force and such which threaten to obliterate the centuries of work accomplished by Christian civilization.

—President Vargas of Brazil in his annual message to the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, July, 1936.

The Buenos Aires [Pan American] Conference must establish the most efficient means to prevent war sparks among the American peoples and also to keep out those coming from the Old World.

—*Diario de la Marina*, Havana, July 19, 1936.

God in Germany

* * * The Evangelical conscience, that shares the responsibility for the people and the government, is most heavily burdened by the fact that there are still concentration camps in Germany, that describes itself as a country in which justice is administered, and that the measures and actions of the secret state police are exempt from any judicial control. Evangelical Christians faithful to their confession whose honor may be assailed are often not accorded the protection of their honor that is afforded to the other citizens * * *

We beg the government of the Reich to consider whether it can be permanently beneficial to our people that the path hitherto taken shall be followed farther. The coercion of the consciences, the persecution of Evangelical conviction, the mutual spying and eavesdropping already exert a baleful influence.

Even a great cause, if it places itself in opposition to the revealed will of God, must finally bring the people to ruin. God's church will continue to exist, even if millions of Evangelical Christians sink under the endeavor to de-Christianize the German people. The German people have, however, not been given the promise that the poison of an anti-Christian spirit shall not harm them, even if they realize only perhaps after a long time that they have been defrauded of their best inheritance by those who took Christ from them.

—From a signed memorandum to Hitler from ten leaders of the Confessional, or opposition, movement of the German Evangelical Church, as published recently in the New York *Herald Tribune*.

❖ ❖ ❖

Russia's Children

It is estimated here that Russia's population within the next thirty-five years will have increased from 170,000,000 to the stupendous number of 500,000,000.

Last year, when the country's natural increase of population broke all records, reaching the figure of 4,500,000, the Kremlin refused to be worried. We must realize that this huge increase is the result of deliberate policy.

Up to now the Bolsheviks have mainly concentrated on industrialising a backward agrarian country in possession of tremendous natural resources. Now that they feel that this is on its way to fulfilment, they are looking ahead and are determined to tackle even greater tasks. The thought of "World Revolution," though relegated by them to the background in the course of the internal struggle to socialize and



THE NEW GERMAN GREETING AT GENEVA.

—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

collectivize Russia, has by no means been forgotten.

—*The Observer*, London, May 10, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Dress Rehearsal

A confidential circular has been issued by Herr Darre, the German Minister of Food and Agriculture, instructing the rural population how to behave during the period of the Olympic Games with a view to giving the world at large a favorable impression of Nazi Germany.

In a brief explanatory introduction the Minister states that "hundreds of thousands of foreigners" will be arriving for the Olympic Games. This "must make it our duty to display the German countryside and the German village to their very best advantage. Countless thousands of foreigners will drive through the German parishes, and it is absolutely necessary that they should return with the best possible impression of the German village and of German agriculture."

The Minister's actual instructions follow (the numbered paragraphs are in the original):—

1. Local officials are "held responsible for thoroughly clearing away the rubbish from all villages on the arterial and main roads, for cleaning the streets and footpaths, and for seeing that the villages as a whole make a favorable impression."

2. "Houses on the main roads are to be whitewashed as far as possible, or, if possible, to be freshly painted." The poorer inhabitants are to be enabled "by a collective effort on the part of the community" to "give their houses a pleasant aspect," which can be done "quite cheaply by painting them over in the simplest manner, which will not last very long but will fully serve the desired purpose" [the purpose, that is to say, of appearing neat and clean to foreign visitors as long as the Olympic Games are on].

3. "Front gardens and other plots are to be put in order and to be planted with summer flowers. The fences are to be painted, the sign-posts and signs to be overhauled."

4. "Gangs of farm laborers, mowers, etc., working in the fields must not spend their breakfast or lunch intervals or intervals of any kind on the edges of the roads from July 1 to September 15. . . . In districts where convict laborers are working on the land these laborers must not be employed near the roads. If this is impossible then their work must be suspended altogether for the period in question. Political prisoners and inmates of concentration camps are in no circumstances to work on the land from July 1 to September 15."

5. The Minister refers to "precise instructions" given by the National Socialist party to the "population" with regard to its attitude towards foreign visitors, and adds that he, for his part, feels bound to supplement these instructions with similar orders of his own. It is desired, he writes, that "everybody shall display an amiable and accommodating manner to strangers, that everybody be ever ready to assist strangers, so that they may have the best possible impression of the German peasantry and countryside."

He adds: "It is necessary to make special mention of the fact that there may be Jews amongst the foreigners, for the German Government has given the International Olympic Committee a pledge to guarantee the protection of all Olympic guests. Possible Jews must therefore be treated just as politely as Aryan guests.

"In no case must Jewish 'provocateurs' get a chance of creating incidents which will add grist to the mills of hostile propagandists abroad. For this reason all illuminated signs—'Klebezettel' (gummed labels with anti-Semitic slogans)—must be removed during the period in question. The fundamental attitude of the German people towards Judaism remains unchanged."

The circular has been sent to members of the Reichsnährstand (Food Control Board), an organization that covers all rural Germany.

—*Manchester Guardian*, July 24, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Japanese Emigrants

The first Japanese emigrants to Paraguay, a group of 80, sailed from Kobe last week on the O.S.K. liner Santos Maru. They are scheduled to reach Santos, Brazil, August 6, and will proceed to Asuncion, capital of Paraguay, by river. From Asuncion their new homes are four hours by train.

In the new colony, each emigrant family will be allotted a tract of about 50 acres, on which will be cultivated chiefly rice and cotton, Domei says. Another group of settlers, 300 families, will be sent to Paraguay soon.

—*Trans-Pacific*, Tokyo, June 25, 1936.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, July 11--Aug. 10

DOMESTIC

JULY 11—President Roosevelt opens New York Triborough Bridge; defends policy of Government aid for permanent projects.

Administration announces it will avoid intervention in American Federation of Labor dispute.

Treasury Department orders countervailing duties ranging from 22½% to 56% on a number of German imports.

National Labor Relations Board charges Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company with complicity in assaults at Gadsden, Alabama, on members of United Rubber Workers of America.

United States and Russia extend limited trade agreement one year.

JULY 12—Report shows national income for 1935 at $52,595,000,000.

Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, preacher and author, dies.

JULY 13—Six unions affiliated with John L. Lewis' industrial unionism defy summons by executive council of A. F. of L.

Hunger marchers harass Pennsylvania Senate; $45,000,000 relief fund reported to have been appropriated.

JULY 14—Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System announces 50% reserve increase requirements of member banks effective August 15.

Lieut. Commander John Semer Farnsworth, ex-Navy officer, arrested for selling confidential papers to agent of the Japanese Government.

Pedro Campos, president of the Nationalist Party, and seven others are placed on trial for plot to overthrow the United States Government in Puerto Rico.

JULY 15—A. F. of L. orders trial of twelve unions composing Committee of Industrial Organization.

President Roosevelt orders resurvey of the Public Works Administration; $80,000,000 worth of projects are halted.

Government agencies rush food to midwest drought victims.

Townsend old-age pension advocates convene at Cleveland.

JULY 16—New labor party formed in New York State to work for President Roosevelt's re-election.

Rev. Father Charles E. Coughlin, radio priest, attacks President Roosevelt before Townsend old-age pension convention; calls President "liar and betrayer."

Senator Louis Murphy of Iowa killed in auto accident.

JULY 17—A.A.A. announces wheat will be purchased and processed for drought victims.

Midwest corn crop suffers under continued heat.

JULY 18—Secretary of Labor Perkins announces that the Walsh-Healey act, imposing wage and hour restrictions on Government domestic contracts, will be effective on September 28.

JULY 19—United States' manufacturers protest to President Roosevelt that the Soviets are dumping matches on American markets.

JULY 20—W.P.A. puts 24,000 persons to work in five drought States.

Rains momentarily relieve Midwest corn belt.

JULY 21—Two U. S. warships dispatched to Spanish waters for protection of nationalists.

JULY 22—Mayor La Guardia of New York charges relief recipients are being exploited at low wages.

President Roosevelt issues order placing all postmasters under merit system; appoints committee for long-range drought planning.

JULY 23—United States Embassy asks aid for Americans at San Sebastian, Spain.

Governor Landon of Kansas notified of Republican nomination; acceptance speech pledges economy and continued relief.

United States Steel grants overtime pay above a 48-hour week.

President Roosevelt Curbs Federal detectives; bans political snooping.

Thirty-four members of the United Textile Workers of America arrested following strike trouble at Talladega, Alabama; five charged with murder.

JULY 24—Drought relief fund raised to approximately $160,000,000 by Resettlement Administration.

JULY 25—Reports indicate a world wheat shortage of a half billion bushels.

JULY 26—Norman Thomas, Socialist, accuses President Roosevelt and Governor Landon of deliberately ignoring "war peril."

JULY 29—Admiral William Standley reports

U. S. will build two capital ships during coming year.

Flood-control commissions receive $1,050,000 allotment from War Department.

JULY 30—Large silk mills join "family" mill strike at Paterson; 3,500 looms idle.

Pennsylvania Legislature agrees on $45,000,000 relief plan; hunger marchers disband.

JULY 31—President Green offers to resign leadership of American Federation of Labor in order to end dispute.

President Roosevelt speaks at Quebec; reiterates "good neighbor" policy.

William Lemke, Union Party candidate, proposes $500,000 income limit in conjunction with confiscatory tax.

Pedro Albizu Campos, leader of Puerto Rican Nationalists, and seven followers, sent to prison on charges of conspiring to overthrow the Government of the United States in Puerto Rico.

AUGUST 1 — People's Party, right-wing Socialists, join the American Labor Party headed by George L. Berry and John L. Lewis.

Father Coughlin sees danger of "revolution" if Governor Landon is elected President.

AUGUST 2—John L. Lewis accuses steel employers of "misuse" of pay statistics to show steel earning above manufacturing average.

Father Coughlin denounces President Roosevelt as "communist."

Third month of drought sears Midwest crops.

AUGUST 3—Religious organizations demand League of Nations intervention in Germany to alleviate oppression of Jews.

American Federation of Labor begins trial of rebellious unions which favor industrial over craft organization.

AUGUST 4—United St.tes Treasury asks Germany to reveal subsidies on exports to the United States.

Resettlement Administration proposes cash grants to 125,000 drought victims.

Illinois hunger marchers barred from the State Capital by police.

AUGUST 5—American Federation of Labor votes suspension of ten unions affiliated with the Committee of Industrial Organization.

Germany denies subsidies on exports; countervailing duties raised on four German products by United States Treasury.

AUGUST 6—Chicago and Southern airliner crashes; eight killed.

Secretary Morgenthau demotes two secret service men for spying on agents of the Department of Justice.

AUGUST 7—Commitee for Industrial Organization proposes to convene sympathetic unions in an independent convention.

Representative Marion Zioncheck of Washington, a suicide.

Three Black Legionnaires convicted; three are freed.

AUGUST 8—Building trades report June 1936 the best month since 1929.

Union Party, led by Presidential candidate Lemke, fails to qualify for place on Ohio ballot.

AUGUST 9—Department of Commerce reports economic recovery at its highest since 1929.

Resettlement Board plans conversion for grazing of 5,250,000 acres in drought belt.

Lincoln Steffens, author, dies.

AUGUST 10—R.C.A. Manufacturing Company at Camden charged with law violation; charge strikebreakers with criminal records used to violently interfere with peaceful picketing.

Corn crop reported worst since 1881, other crops decline.

Labor's Non-partisan League proposes liberal third party in 1940.

INTERNATIONAL

JULY 11—Germany and Austria sign agreement adjusting differences and conceding Austrian freedom.

Italy refuses invitation of Locarno powers to participate in Brussels' conference.

JULY 12—Austria secretly pledges Hitler that Army will be enlarged.

Japan plans eight railways and an auto road in North China.

JULY 13—Observers state that by accord with Austria, Hitler has ended peril of encirclement.

South China Government threatens war with Nanking Government.

Italy and Germany work for accord; plan united front.

Great Britain ignores report that Germany is refortifying Heligoland.

Italy reduces troops on Egyptian border as friendly gesture toward Great Britain.

Soviets view Austro-German pact as war threat.

JULY 14—South Chinese leaders defy Nanking Central Government.

Great Britain momentarily blocks Dardanelles pact over belligerent warship passage.

England makes earnest attempt to persuade Italy and Germany to attend Locarno conference to be held at Brussels.

JULY 15—League of Nations sanctions against Italy officially ended.

Great Britain abandons demand for freedom of passage through the Straits of Dardanelles.

JULY 16—Railway link reported complete be-

tween Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Turkey awarded control of the Straits of Dardanelles.

July 17—Chinese Central Government wins Canton rebels with persuasion; Cantonese leaders flee China.

July 18—Nazis in Danzig to abolish civil liberties; defy League of Nations.

July 19—Polish Government is urged to check Nazis in Danzig.

July 20—Powers sign Montreux Treaty, permitting Turkey to legally occupy Straits.

England forbids League action in Danzig; agitation continues.

July 21—Preliminary talks for Locarno parley at Brussels scheduled for London.

July 22—Japan uneasy over the strengthening of the Nanking Government with Canton troops, after collapse of South Chinese rebellion.

July 23—Colonel Lindbergh, on visit to Germany, warns of dangers in immense air armament; urges sense of responsibility.

Britain, Belgium, and France agree at London conference to attempt further measures to draw Italy and Germany into Locarno parley.

July 25—Germany recognizes Italian conquest of Ethiopia by reducing delegation at Addis Ababa; replaces it with consulate general.

July 26—Great Britain and France draw closer together as Hitler continues to put pressure on Czechoslovakia.

United States Commission reports that Swedish cooperatives eliminate monopoly and trust combines.

Germany assures Polish Government that legal solution will decide future of Danzig.

July 27—Britain terminates Mediterranean pacts; Italy pleased.

Soviets charge plan for Finnish airline is military measure against them.

July 29—Soviets receive £10,000,000 credit from Britain to stimulate trade.

July 31—Germany and Italy accept invitation to attend Locarno parley at Brussels.

France requests a three-power parley on neutrality in Spanish civil war.

August 1—Eleventh Olympic Games of modern times opens in Berlin.

August 3—Trade with United States checked by new German monetary decree.

August 5—Lithuania concludes political and trade agreements with Germany.

August 7—First World Jewish Congress convenes at Geneva to discuss understanding between Jewish and non-Jewish peoples.

August 8—Japan seeks recognition of Manchukuo by Great Britain.

Colonel Hata, former military attaché at Moscow reports Soviet Army is formidable and almost invincible, lacking only trained technicians.

August 9—World Jewish Congress considers proposal for permanent organization.

Twenty thousand Italian-American veterans residing in Italy receive United States bonus bonds.

FOREIGN

China

August 1—Kwangsi Army opposes the Central Nanking Government; rebellious forces begin attack from south on General Chiang Kai-Shek's soldiers.

August 2—Nanking Government delays attack on the rebellious Kwangsi Army.

August 3—Kwangsi troops fight toward sea against Nanking Central Government forces under Chiang Kai-Shek.

August 4—Kwangsi leaders offer terms under which they will submit to Nanking Central Government.

France

July 12—Political factions battle at Nice; fifty-five injured.

July 16—Chamber of Deputies sets up more representative board of Administration for Bank of France.

July 17—French Chamber passes bill to nationalize arms industry.

July 22—Cabinet moves to end all strikes; labor joins with Government to stop farm strike.

July 28—Chamber of Deputies consider severe tourist trade loss.

July 30—France detains airplanes bound for rebel front.

Great Britain

July 11—Sir Samuel Hoare announces England will build huge naval fleet; Government leaders divided on meaning of German pledge to Austria.

July 16—King Edward escapes alleged attempt to assassinate him.

July 28—Contract let for sister ship to Queen Mary.

England plans part-time army unit to attract volunteers.

July 31—British Parliament, subject to call in crisis, adjourns.

August 2—England accuses Germany of frustrating the "new Locarno" conference.

August 5—Sir Christopher Bullock, Permanent Secretary to Air Ministry, dismissed by Prime Minister Baldwin; corruption denied.

Greece

AUGUST 4—Greek Government confronted by "a Communist plot", proclaims martial law; Chamber is dissolved; leftist trade unions order twenty-four hour strike.

AUGUST 5—Premier Metaxas crushes general "twenty-four hour strike" with troops; Government denies dictatorial *coup*.

AUGUST 6—Communications under Governmental control; Premier Metaxas begins wholesale arrest and deportation of Communists.

AUGUST 7—Premier Metaxas' martial law and dictatorship attacked by political leaders; King warned that situation endangers monarchy.

AUGUST 8—Premier Metaxas declares Greek people are badly in need of discipline.

Japan

JULY 14—Japanese Army demands $882,000,000 appropriation for six-year period.

JULY 30—Four battleships to be replaced in new Japanese building program.

Mexico

JULY 18—Utility workers strike in Mexico City.

JULY 19—Utility strike deadlocked; workers demand President Cardenas confiscate company property.

JULY 25—Workers and employers of Mexican Light and Power Company reach accord, 3,000 strikers return to work.

Spain

JULY 13—Jose Sotelo, monarchist Deputy, murdered; seventeen police placed under arrest.

JULY 14—Two fascist demonstrators killed at Deputy Sotelo's funeral; riots in Madrid.

JULY 17—Telephone service with Spain terminated for "political reasons."

JULY 18—Fascists revolt in Morocco; plan national revolution.

JULY 19—Rebels hold Morocco and gain in southern Spain; fighting breaks out in principal cities; Government planes bomb rebels.

JULY 20—Revolution sweeps all Spain; Socialist forces battle insurgent fascist elements.

JULY 21—Revolution intensifies; fascist forces gain against loyal Socialist troops.

JULY 22—Socialist forces subdue fascists in Madrid; regain control of rebellious cities in south.

JULY 23—Socialist Government takes offensive; Red militia men seize former residences of Madrid aristocrats.

JULY 24—Fighting in all important cities; national refugees evacuated; churches indiscriminately burned by rioters.

JULY 25—Rebels defeated before Madrid by loyal troops; France refuses arms shipments despite Spanish gold deposits.

JULY 26—Americans evacuated from San Sebastian; observer reports that France Germany, Italy, and England are surreptitiously taking sides.

JULY 27—Loyal troops report victory over rebels; Germany protests attack on property in Barcelona.

JULY 28—Government orders confiscation of all religious property; report Catalonia leftists seize General Motors and Ford plants.

JULY 29—Armed forces prepare for major engagements; foreigners still trapped in Madrid.

JULY 30—Madrid Government confiscates merchant marine; Italian bombers forced down en route to aid rebels.

JULY 31—Madrid Government reports gains against rebels; Palma, Majorca, bombed by Government planes; France begins investigation of forced landing of armed Italian planes in Morocco.

AUGUST 1—Rebels attack northern ports; Moroccan rebels receive planes from Italy; reinforcements from Barcelona arrive to aid Madrid Government; France asks all powers to remain neutral.

AUGUST 2—Valladolid, Segovia, and Palma fired by rebel aircraft; France awaits reply on neutrality; Syndicalists seek power in Catalonia.

AUGUST 3—Soviet workers pledge monetary aid to Spanish Government; Americans receive final warning to quit Spain; fighting continues with Government forces succesfully defending Madrid.

AUGUST 4—Government defeats rebel drive on Madrid; Great Britain agrees to neutrality plan if Italy accepts; officers of German warship call on General Franco, rebel leader.

AUGUST 5—French leftists enlist with Spanish Government forces; Red Cross estimates 35,000 have been killed; reports of success of both armed forces conflict.

AUGUST 6—Germany aroused by report that four Germans were killed in fighting; rebels start drive on Madrid from south; United States asks Spain to respect American property.

AUGUST 7—Algeciras heavily bombarded by loyal battleship; rebel ships reduce Gijon; Germany demands indemnity for killing of four Germans; Madrid Mortgage Bank run by members of Communist Party.

AUGUST 8—Italy warns Spain on killing of two Italian subjects; church art in Barcelona destroyed by civil war; loyalists prepare offensive in south.

AUGUST 9—Loyalists successfully defend Madrid against rebel attack; Italy reaffirms peace stand; France bans sale of arms.

AUGUST 10—British warships shield rebel stronghold at Algeciras from loyal bombardment by closing Gibraltar to combatants; new regime in Catalonia assumes powers of sovereign State.

AUTHORS *in this ISSUE:*

Emil Lengyel (*Austria's Gamble*) is back, then off again for Europe with almost commuter regularity. His last trip took him through nineteen countries. Usually, he finds plenty to write about, and reviewers like the way he writes it. With the recent publication of his *Millions of Dictators*, the *New York Times* observed: "Mr. Lengyel has a real gift for re-creating the atmosphere of the places he describes. He has a keen sense of humor. The volume is full of witty and sometimes profound observations." Other books by Dr. Lengyel include *The New Deal in Europe*, *The Cauldron Boils*, and *Hitler*.

❖ ❖ ❖

Rexford Guy Tugwell (*Changing Acres*) returns to CURRENT HISTORY with this sequel to his recent *Down to Earth*. Certain situations to the West appear to have absorbed his attentions, so we were obliged to postpone this article for some time. We hope to publish another soon.

❖ ❖ ❖

W. Walter Crotch (*Eyes on Danzig*) is editor-in-chief of the International Press Bureau. He knows his Europe and seems ever watchful of Germany, with the doubtful sympathies of an Englishman having headquarters in Paris.

❖ ❖ ❖

Joseph H. Baird (*Workers in the Soviet*) is the former United Press Correspondent in Moscow who, we promised in July, would soon be back with a sequel to his valued *Small Business in the Soviet*.

❖ ❖ ❖

Gordon Rend (*Opposition in Germany*) comes from a family of former German diplomats whose identity he is not too anxious to disclose while they remain within the borders of that country. To confound those who ought not know, he uses a pseudonym, not only for us, but for many newspapers now using his services.

❖ ❖ ❖

L. S. Stavrianos (*Schooling Under the Dictators*) writes from Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, where history and international relations engage his talents. He has contributed to *Social Science* and the *Michigan Historical Review*.

❖ ❖ ❖

Richard L. Neuberger (*Power as an Issue*) is a feature writer for *The Oregonian* (Portland) and a correspondent in the Northwest for the *New York Times*. He is co-author of *An Army of the Aged* (Caxton's) an analysis of the political and social implications of the Townsend movement.

❖ ❖ ❖

Tibor Eckhardt (*As I See Europe*) is one of Hungary's politically foremost citizens. A Monarchist of liberal tendencies, he was elected leader of the Opposition in that country in 1933 and is now engaged in a campaign against the Goemboes administration. Earlier in his career he was Secretary of State, and Chief of the Press Department of the Hungarian Government.

❖ ❖ ❖

Arthur E. Suffern (*Brewing a Labor Party*) explains labor problems to New York University students and conducts economic research for the Federal Council of Churches. He has written two books: *Conciliation and Arbitration in the Coal Industry in America*, and *The Coal Miner's Struggle for Industrial Status*.

❖ ❖ ❖

Leonid I. Strakhovsky (*Bulgaria Struggles On*) is Professor of Modern European History, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. A Russian by birth, he participated in the World War and the civil war in Russia. Leading American and European periodicals have published many of his articles. He was decorated by the late King Albert of Belgium with the Order of Leopold II in 1930, and by King Carol of Rumania with the Order of the Crown of Rumania in 1935.

❖ ❖ ❖

William Henry Chamberlin (*Japan's Trade Challenge*) is special correspondent for *The Christian Science Monitor* in the Far East, maintaining headquarters in Tokyo. For ten years he was correspondent for the same publication in Russia. "His books, *Soviet Russia*, *The Soviet Planned Economic Order*, and *Russia's Iron Age* have attracted much attention and have exercised no small influence on the framing of public opinion in this country," it was stated by the *New York Times* recently in reviewing Mr. Chamberlin's new book, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1921*. The same review notes that "the straightforward simplicity and charm of his style have received the recognition they fully deserve."

TO OUR READERS:

With this issue of CURRENT HISTORY, we complete the major changes in publication policy announced when we purchased the magazine last spring. We are gratified to say that both the percentage of renewal subscriptions and the number of new readers attest the acceptability of these changes.

Point by point, we feel we have made good the pledges to our readers. Above all, we feel we have preserved the integrity and character of the magazine, and the excellent reputation it enjoyed under the long management of the *New York Times Company*.

First among the changes, we might consider the monthly historical review. Under the old management, this feature was treated by countries, to each of which one authority was assigned. We feel, however, that the real history is distinguished not so much by what goes on within certain boundaries, as by the progress or retrogression of major trends of thought. Thus, in our judgment, Italy and Germany, for example, are of less importance as such, than the major ideas they represent; fascism, Nazi-ism, the concept of the totalitarian state, become then, the major trends, which, we feel, students of history will most want to watch. It was with this general idea in mind, that we changed the old historical review, and substituted the *Log of Major Currents*. Its reference value is enhanced by its treatment of only the significant things; the mere fact of a country's geographic existence is not used as the basis of an historic article, if nothing of any moment occurred there. This is not to say, however, that CURRENT HISTORY now does, or proposes at any time, to abolish separate studies of the individual nations by those best qualified to present them. Such studies are given their proper place in the main section devoted to original articles.

CURRENT HISTORY contains the same number of pages as under the old management. The page size also remains the same. If the magazine appears somewhat smaller, it is because the edges are now trimmed, and a thinner paper is being used. The new, smooth-finished paper permits the use of halftone illustrations where needed or desirable.

The enlarged chronology speaks for itself, and adds immeasurably to the reference value of CURRENT HISTORY. It is a complete index, not to the magazine, but to important happenings the world over, whether or not they have been treated editorially.

The cartoons have been continued, but not in a separate section. So far as possible, the cartoons are placed where they most nearly fit the text, which, we feel, not only improves the appearance of the magazine, but lends further interest to the subject treated.

CURRENT HISTORY contributors have remained on the same unimpeachably high level. For the most part, they are well-known authorities in their respective fields; when they are less known, however, we require that their articles be thoroughly documented, and no matter by whom submitted, each article is subjected to careful research. CURRENT HISTORY has no desire to eliminate unknown authors who may have something of value to say. At the same time, it has no desire to publish a well-known author who may have nothing to say. Each writer's qualifications are given.

They Say is an entirely new feature, meeting the demand for sidelights on the world scene, as viewed through foreign eyes. It has been substituted for the old feature, *On the Margin of History*. The new section is not an office collection of oddities in the news; our own staff of translators combs the foreign press and magazines for intimate glimpses of world-wide thought and problems.

Such are the major innovations, to which the new management pledged itself on taking over CURRENT HISTORY. We are grateful for the fine response they have brought and the new friends they have won. It shall be our aim constantly to improve the magazine, and to make it larger and increasingly valuable.

M. E. Tracy, Publisher.

—Speaking of Travel—

Travel Experts Choose World's Twenty Most Beautiful Cities

THE inevitable Man from Mars, overlooking for the moment the world's wrangles and revolutions, might not have too much difficulty in selecting the most beautiful cities on this planet. Apparently, there is some unanimity on the subject among those who should know. Sir Michael Sadler, formerly of Oxford University, and Malcolm La Prade, the "Man from Cook's" and widely recognized travel authority, have drawn up lists of the world's twenty most beautiful cities. They are in agreement on eleven.

Sir Michael overlooks the United States entirely in his list; he mentions, in fact, only one city on this continent—Quebec. Mr. La Prade, in a list prepared especially for *Current History,* omits Quebec but finds that New York and Washington deserve high rating.

The eleven cities obtaining mutual recognition by Sir Michael and Mr. La Prade are Paris, Istanbul (Constantinople), Rome, Vienna, Edinburgh, Nuremberg, The Hague, Budapest, Florence, Stockholm, and Venice. Sir Michael's remaining choices are Gothenbourg, Agra, Benares, Ob-der-Tauben Dijon, Angouleme, Quebec, Oxford, Bath, and Athens. The other cities on Mr. La Prade's list are New York, Washington, Brussels, Dresden, Nice, Rio de Janeiro, Naples, Prague, and Geneva.

Neither list is arranged in the order of attractiveness; and both authorities were careful to point out that their lists represented the world's most beautiful cities in a collective sense. Mr. La Prade, however, believes that Paris, measured in terms of general planning, ranks first. And for general situation, he believes Rio de Janeiro to be the most beautiful.

Sir Michael believes his list to contain the "most remarkable and most agreeable" cities in the world. Mr. La Prade has confined his list to cities of fairly large population. For this reason, he says, he has omitted smaller cities such as Angouleme or Dijon, or those cities whose chief bid to fame is a single edifice or a single street.

The Twenty Most Beautiful Cities in the World

Following are the lists of the twenty most beautiful cities in the world, as selected by Sir Michael Sadler, recently of Oxford University, and Malcolm La Prade, one of America's foremost travel authorities. Mr. La Prade's list has been prepared especially for CURRENT HISTORY.

SIR MICHAEL SADLER		*MALCOLM LA PRADE*	
Rome	Florence	Rome	Florence
Venice	Vienna	Venice	Vienna
Paris	The Hague	Paris	The Hague
Edinburgh	Nuremberg	Edinburgh	Nuremberg
Stockholm	Budapest	Stockholm	Budapest
Athens	Constantinople	Naples	Rio de Janeiro
Agra	Benares	New York	Prague
Bath	Oxford	Dresden	Brussels
Gothenbourg	Angouleme	Istanbul	Geneva
Ob-der-Tauben	Quebec	Nice	Washington
Dijon			

"I have tried to consider the cities on broader lines," he said, "taking into consideration situation, surroundings, general appearance of streets and layout, exceptionally fine architecture, and unique appearance."

Mr. La Prade is one of a growing number of travel authorities who have accorded New York and Washington high recognition as cities of wide appeal, from standpoints of attractiveness and beauty. Washington's right to notice can hardly be questioned; the remarkably artistic layout and arrangement of the streets, coupled with the magnificent Government structures, have won the admiration of tourists and architects alike. New York City, as Mr. La Prade pointed out, is the "city of the future." Recent park and civic projects, additions to the skyline, and improvement of its harbor, have made New York as attractive as it is cosmopolitan.

Mr. La Prade's list, together with the reasons for the choice of each city follows:

PARIS, because of the magnificent conception of its great boulevards, public squares and parks . . . its splendid buildings, all blending harmoniously, the old with the new.

RIO DE JANEIRO, because of its incredibly beautiful natural surroundings, its mountain background, and its foreground of sea, harbor, and beaches . . . its handsome public buildings, attractive parks, and boulevards.

ISTANBUL, because of its striking situation on the shore of the Bosporus Strait, and the banks of the winding river, "Golden Horn" . . . because of its graceful domes and minarets which rise high above the roof-tops of the city . . . because of its splendid palaces and villas built along the Bosporus and the picturesque quality of the craft in its busy harbor.

NAPLES, primarily because of its surroundings . . . Its lovely bay, dotted with the islands of Capri and Ischia, its striking background of Vesuvius, sending up a perpetual thread of gray smoke, which floats away over the city . . . also for its terraced buildings, built along the hills over the bay, and the general coloring of the scene.

NEW YORK, because of its modernistic skyline, its magnificent towers, its rivers and harbor . . . New York represents the city of the future . . . Altogether it is one of the world's most impressive sights.

NUREMBERG, because of its architectural consistency . . . not only apparent in the old sections that lie inside the walls, but also in the newer parts, which conform to the general medieval style of old Nuremberg . . . taken as a whole Nuremberg is one of the world's most picturesque large cities.

STOCKHOLM, because of its magnificent situation on Lake Mälaren, and its many canals, its fine architecture, both old and new. The oldest section of the city has scarcely changed for 300 years. The new Town Hall is recognized as one of the world's most beautiful buildings. The residential surroundings of the city are remarkably beautiful, and the whole thing is spotlessly clean and well kept.

BUDAPEST, because of its many magnificent buildings, and its striking situation on both banks of the Danube . . . its beautiful bridges, and its St. Margaret's Island, lying in the middle of the Danube.

VENICE, because of its uniqueness . . . its canals and bridges and, above all, because of St. Marks Square, the most picturesque example of a medieval square in existence.



Diorama of the South African Empire Exhibition at Johannesburg. The Exhibition will open September 15.

WASHINGTON, because of its magnificent governmental buildings and its fine broad avenues . . . a city laid out in the same lavish style as Paris.

GENEVA, because of its charming situation on Lake Geneva and its background of snow-covered Alps . . . also because of its many fine buildings and monuments, and attractive streets and parks.

NICE, one of the world's most beautiful seaside cities, with many fine avenues, a splendid sea-front promenade, lined with imposing buildings . . . Nice and its surroundings are particularly beautiful in coloring.

VIENNA, selected particularly because of its "Ringstrasse," the great tree-lined boulevard which encircles the older parts of the city. Along this boulevard are some of the most beautiful buildings in Europe and many attractive parks.

EDINBURGH, because of its romantic aspect . . . the old Castle standing high against a rocky background . . . the ancient houses lining the "Royal Mile," and also the fine modern appearance of Princes' Street in contrast to older Edinburgh.

ROME, a city which has made great strides in civic beauty within the last 10 years, clearing away unsightly buildings—which formerly hemmed in the great monuments and ruins of antiquity, and also creating fine modern streets and avenues, and many splendid new buildings. Rome has as many notable buildings as any city in the world.

DRESDEN, one of Germany's most charming cities, notable for its situation on both banks of the Elbe and for its many beautiful baroque buildings.

PRAGUE, because of its impressive situation on both banks of the Moldau, its many beautiful bridges, and graceful church spires. The older sections are particularly picturesque.

THE HAGUE, a charming garden-city, with many tree-lined streets, attractive houses, and some very fine old Dutch renaissance buildings, churches, and palaces.

FLORENCE, because of its magnificent churches and palaces of the early renaissance period, because of its many quaint and narrow streets, and its charming situation on both banks of the Arno.

BRUSSELS, because of its attractive tree-lined boulevards, its many fine monuments, and above all its "Grand Place", a most perfect example of a medieval square in Gothic style.

Here and There

Johannesburg, fastest growing city in the world, is the stage of the South Africa Empire Exhibition, beginning this month and running until January. Johannesburg is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary with the largest empire exhibition since Wembley.

Fifty years ago, Johannesburg was a tented city of hustling gold miners. Today, the population has swelled to 750,000, if one includes adjacent towns, and the city prides itself on being the most prosperous in the world. Employed in the nearby gold mines along the Rand are more than 280,000 natives and 34,000 Europeans, working in mines which yield forty percent of the world's gold output.

More than two years of construction, organization, and detail have gone into the preparation for the exhibition. Officials estimate that upwards of 2,000,000 visitors and tourists will attend during the four months' showing. Among the tourist attractions will be pageants of history, native war dances, music festivals in which the world's most famous military bands will participate, and performances in mammoth open-air theatres.

The exhibition will not be local in character, however, although it coincides with Johannesburg's Jubilee Celebration, and will be held on a comprehensive scale in order to demonstrate the progress of the Union of South Africa during the past fifty years.

❖ ❖ ❖

Air-mindedness of vacationing Americans is definitely on the increase. National Park Airways reports a thirty-eight percent increase in service over last year

❖ ❖ ❖

Considered one of the showplaces of Russia, Leningrad is now in the process of becoming a city of parks and open spaces. When the civic improvement program is completed, the city will have 2,500 acres of wide park space and 3,000 acres in greenery and lawns. In addition, a seven-mile belt of parkland and gardens will encircle the city.

❖ ❖ ❖

For the time being, the contemplated sister ship of the *Queen Mary* will be known as "Number 552." The new project is now definite, and the vessel will have approximately the same dimensions and speed as the *Queen Mary.* The owners of the ship aim to inaugurate a weekly service between New York, Cherbourg, and Southampton, using only two ships. This is planned as an economy measure, since it is now necessary to have three express ships maintain weekly sailings.

❖ ❖ ❖

The Astronomical Clock on the Cathedral of St. Pierre, of Beauvais, France, is still a tourist favorite. The clock contains 90,000 separate pieces and has fifty-two dials, mounted in a gilt oak case thirty-nine feet high. At the top a cock crows and flaps its wings; above it rises a turreted castle.

❖ ❖ ❖

The Polish Government's new highway-building program has induced many American tourists to take their cars along for extended visiting in that country. Poland's new concrete highways, particularly those leading to resorts and places of interest, are said to compare with the best in America.

❖ ❖ ❖

The Texas Centennial Celebrations continue to attract hundreds of thousands of visitors despite the approaching end of the vacation season. The three celebrations proving overwhelmingly popular are the Exposition at Dallas, the Frontier Centennial at Fort Worth, and the University Centennial Exposition at Austin. The three attractions combined have already been viewed by 2,500,000 persons, all of whom are enthusiastic in their praise. The celebrations will continue in full swing until the end of the year.

(Continued from page 7)

its own terms and with stream-lined yardsticks. Yet art and culture are not the patented inventions of Western civilization. And one need not revert to ancient Chinese culture on this point. There are as many different cultures today, as old or even older and more highly developed than that belonging to the Western world, as there are peoples. In *Bali and Angkor,* for example, one reads of a happy, adjusted people, engrossed with their art, religion, and dance. The Balinese are happy, Mr. Gorer writes, because they have founded their culture on the "village as a community." In short, there is an almost unbelievable harmony among the people.

"In Bali I saw the only happy large community I have ever seen in my life," he says, adding that he is convinced that he had seen the "nearest approach to Utopia that I am ever likely to see. . . ."

Mr. Gorer found in the ruins of the dead city of Angkor what he believes to be one of the "most lovely pieces of architecture in the world." He was referring to Angkor Wat, which he describes as "almost completely unusable," but decoratively beautiful.

Bali and Angkor is keen, stimulating reading, both as a book of travel and as a record of observations on peoples and their cultures. Mr. Gorer's comments on art, philosophy, and religion are sometimes challenging and provocative, but always sincere and worth appraising.

One for the "Best Books" List

Those who are habitually accustomed to drawing up lists of the year's best books will find in Dr. Victor Heiser's *An American Doctor's Odyssey* (Norton, $3.50) a worthy candidate for high non-fiction honors. For there are few personal narratives in recent years as full-bodied and as richly flavored as this story of an American doctor's adventures in forty-five countries.

Dr. Heiser was a salesman. It was his job to sell health to the world. This he did with great success. He spent ten years in the Philippine Islands, fighting a batch of plagues that threatened to reduce the entire populace to a race of wasting, diseased flesh. But Dr. Heiser did more than destroy plagues on the island: he educated the people to an understanding of health and the ways in which it could best be retained.

His mission the world over was the same. Supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. Heiser had a free rein to travel and show people that sickness was not something to be accepted as resignedly as they would a rainstorm; medicine was not the invention of witch doctors but the results of hundreds of years of scientific research.

The vein of anecdote flows through *An American Doctor's Odyssey* with ease and satisfying richness. While in Ethiopia in 1933, Dr. Heiser attempted to interest Emperor Haile Selassie in leprosy control. During the course of the interview, Dr. Heiser inadvertently referred to Ethiopia as a "backward nation." The Emperor inquired politely:—

> "How many unemployed have you in the United States?"
>
> "About twelve million, I should imagine."
>
> "Well," he continued blandly, "my Government has been in continuous existence for over five thousand years We have no unemployment, we have never had any. We have no starving. All my people have homes to live in. They have clothes to wear. They are happy."
>
> I could think of no answer. I have not yet been able to think of one.

Reaction and the Constitution

Dr. Heiser's difficulty in working out an answer to problems of America's unemployed millions and diverse social ills would seem to extend to the Government itself. For, says Irving Brant in *Storm Over the Constitution* (Bobbs-Merrill, $2.00), the Government can do little in the way of progressive legislation for the underprivileged, shackled as it is to the bulkheads of reaction and the boundary lines of social progress drawn so tightly by the Supreme Court.

But America's failure to hit a real stride of social progress can hardly be blamed, Mr. Brant thinks, upon the Supreme Court or even Presidents "with the economic views of Cleveland, Taft, Coolidge, and Hoover." The blame, he maintains, should be laid squarely at the door of the people, who elect reactionary Presidents, who in turn naturally appoint reactionary justices, who, in their turn, hand down reactionary decisions. For this reason, he adds, most of this country's history is a cycle of reaction. Once in a long while, however, progressive legislation squeezes through with the support of conservatives as "concessions to head off polit-

(Continued on page 128)

(Continued from page 120)

ical revolt; and the courts, like Galileo's world, do move."

Mr. Brant, after analyzing the Constitution and the motives, expressed or implied, of the men behind it, can find little justification for the rigid interpretations placed upon it by professional opponents of the New Deal or, for that matter, by the Supreme Court. He urges, in fact, that when the people are told by polished propagandists to return to the "faith of the founders," they seek that faith in their neighbors and themselves. For if that faith—the faith of the founders—can be found, a leadership will be drawn to meet the economic and social crisis of the twentieth century just as the fathers met the political crisis of the eighteenth.

Miscellaneous Reviews

A summer which has been unusually rich in literary harvest has added to its prize crop *The Flowering of New England* by Van Wyck Brooks (Dutton, $4); *Drums Along the Mohawk* by Walter D. Edmonds (Little, Brown, $2.50), and *The Big Money* by John Dos Passos (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50).

Mr. Brooks' latest effort is a literary history of the years 1815 to 1865. Through its sparkling and fruitful pages one is brought closer than he had ever thought possible to the real Emerson, Longfellow, Thoreau, Norton, Lowell, and Dr. Holmes. Here, too, one sees how literary genius lived, thought, felt, and therefore wrote, in the pre-Civil War days. Van Wyck Brooks is the ideal critic—better still, interpreter—for his primary aim is not to criticize, but to evaluate. He sees clearly, and, unlike many of his contemporaries, can tell exactly what he sees, even to the minutest shades of color in the picture before him.

Drums Along the Mohawk, like the phenomenal *Gone With the Wind,* draws its theme and setting from American history. It is difficult to believe that the characters did not actually live during those six years when the Revolution surged and drums beat along the Mohawk Valley. It is equally difficult to believe that Mr. Edmonds did not live through the Revolution himself. But of such stuff are good novels made.

The author of *The Big Money* is again the Dos Passos of *The Forty-Second Parallel* and *1919.* Conventionalities of sequence and theme fall before his seemingly spontaneous outbursts of ideas and observations of the world and its people. As the title of the book would imply *The Big Money* is a story of the boom years in this country. It tells of people whose sails were filled with the winds of fortune on golden seas before the Great Calm of 1929, when the wind seemed to have left the earth and sails became still.

Two important works dealing with American agriculture published last month are *The Social History of American Agriculture* by Joseph Schafer (Macmillan, $2.50) and *Why Quit Our Own,* by George N. Peek with Samuel Crowther (D. Van Nostrand, $.50). Both books are equally advantageous reading.

Mr. Schafer's work, a penetrating and comprehensive survey and history of the farm situation in this country, does much to aid in proper evaluation of *Why Quit Our Own.* Mr. Schafer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, presents the story of American agriculture clearly, completely, and with scholarly detachment. His work is highly recommended to all those seeking an impartial and thorough background study of present-day developments and issues in agriculture.

Why Quit Our Own, written by the former administrator of the AAA, offers the author's "program for farm and factory." Advocating "Americanism" instead of "internationalism" in the administration of not only the farm problem but of all other issues in American government as well, the book calls for an embargo or limitation by quota of all competitive farm products, repeal or amendment of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act to provide for Congressional approval of all general trade agreements, and encouragement of the growth of such agricultural products as are now imported.

◆ ◆ ◆

Jacob S. Minkin in *Herod: A Biography* (Macmillan, $2.50) has presented one of the few dispassionate and scientific examinations available of history's foremost villain, of whom Emperor Augustus is said to have declared that he would rather be Herod's pig than his son. There is fertile ground here for a bitter and cutting approach to the story of the infamous king, but it is to Dr. Minkin's credit that his writing tools are not scalpel and vitriol but a pen of commendable clarity and restraint.